NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment----Without Compromise. JME S RUSSELL LOWELL, Crrespnding Editer.

VOLUME VIII.---NO. 48. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1848. WHOLE NUMBER 412.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY. At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—One Dollar per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Washington Correspondence of the True Democrat.

SLAVE PENS.

The slave pens of the city of Washington are well sustained. The *glorious* stars and stripes of this far-famed and Christian Republic wave over them in triumph, and indicate to the law-protected slave-catcher, and slaveholder, where they can find a haven of rest and safety for the manacled beings that *power* places within their iron grasp. As I strolled past one of these Republican coops a few evenings since, I saw issuing from a side door of the house adjoining the pen, a coloured young man. He came out to the road, and overtook me in my walk, and as he was about to pass, I made an inquiry, to gain his attention, in regard to the distance to the arsenal, and what my shortest course would be? He answered with much frankness and accuracy, this, and and many other questions that I put to him. After gaining his confidence, and "wireing myself into his good graces," I inquired if he was a slave? He replied that he belonged to a Mr. Somebody, (the name I do not remember,) who owned the house and pen near by. After giving me some account of his master, he answered inquiries in regard to the subject most upon my mind—the slave pen. I learned from him that large numbers of slaves had been kept in that dismal place for months past—that they were constantly coming and going, and his business was to carry their food to them. They are generally crowded together, and some who are apt to believe that they are *not* chattels, are secured by irons upon the hands and feet. He informed me that his master was expecting a drove of a hundred sometime in April. Some of these slaves are brought here and sold, others are taken to the far South. They come and go by night and by day, though the night is generally preferred for such deeds of darkness, during the session of Congress. A few days since, a drove of some thirty were taken South, after being kept for some two months within hearing of the Capitol. This insult to the freemen of the North, this gross violation of human and divine law, this damnable work, which devils themselves would shrink from, is being practised constantly in this District, under the semblance of law, with the sanction of Congress, and unrebuked by the Committee of the District. How long will such monstrosities be permitted to exist? Just so long as the people of the North *will* that they should. If they continue to send their miserable Whig, and their more servile Locofoco doughfaces here, the curse will continue upon us. We want better material in our Congressional halls—men who are above party, who will fearlessly and independently stand by the RIGHT, whose moral power will be *felt*. Your automaton who can merely say *yes*, and *no*, on questions of humanity, will *never* effect a change. Let us have men, who, like a few noble spirits here, *dare* to give utterance to the God-given truths of the age, and whose aspirations are higher than party and office, and the idolators of Slavery will soon be made to know and to feel that "*there is a God in Israel.*"

E. L. S.

From the Hampshire Herald.

MOUNT VERNON.

In the summer of 1835, in company with a friend in Alexandria, we visited Mount Vernon. It was then, as now, in the possession of the widow of John A. Washington. Mrs. W. was absent on an excursion into the interior of Virginia; the old dilapidated mansion of "the father of his country" was closed, and the whole estate was left in the charge of slaves, who dwelt in huts, close by the mansion. When we arrived, there was no one at hand, whose business it was to guide strangers to the interesting objects of the place. The man who had charge of the house was absent with the key; and so also was the gardener. We, however, met with a little boy—black and *bright*—a very interesting lad, some nine or ten years old, and he—as well as he could—showed us the wonders of the place. In the course of our excursion about the premises, he discovered that our friend was a resident of Alexandria; upon which, the little fellow, with a remarkable earnestness and simplicity of expression, looked up to him and inquired,

"Mr. ———, do you know if Mr. Armfield has got a letter yet from my father?"

"No," said Mr. ———, "I have not seen Mr. Armfield lately."

"Well, do you know when he expects a letter?"

The answer was in the negative,—and the boy seemed disappointed!

"That boy's father," said our friend, "about a month ago, was sold by Mrs. Washington to Franklin & Armfield, and he is, before now, in New Orleans; and to quiet the little fellow, he was told that his father would write a letter for him, and send it to Mr. Armfield's care." And now the poor, simple-hearted boy was anxiously asking of all who came from Alexandria, if Mr. Armfield had got a letter yet from his father! Not suspecting that his father was treated and sold by Armfield as a *thing*—or a brute!

We soon after met with the gardener, to whom the boy introduced us as his uncle. He was a handsome built, sensible-looking black man, apparently about thirty years of age, and evidently influenced by religious principle and feeling. He invited us into the garden, and was very communicative in reference to the great variety of flowers and plants with which it abounds. We inquired of him about the little boy referred to. He said the boy's father was his brother, and confirmed what had been said about his having been sold. He said that though the father was a slave, the boy was free, because his mother was free. After remarking something about his own condition, he said with strong emotion,—"It's hard! It seems as if white folks didn't think that black folks had any feelings. But the black folks love their wives and children, and brothers and sisters, as well as white folks does theirs. Just let their families and friends be took from them, and sold off down South, and I reckon they would n't like it any better than black folks does."

The utterance of the poor slave's feelings produced an impression upon us which we can never forget. We felt then, as we do now, that if there are creatures on the face of the earth, for whom no protection of law should be provided, and who should be hunted as enemies of the human race, they are such beings as Franklin & Armfield, the opulent dealers in human flesh.

From the Western Citizen.

ASHAMED OF THEIR WORK.

The Alton Telegraph thus treads lightly, as if on eggs, over the odious fourteenth article of the New Constitution:

"The vote on the fourteenth article, however, surprises us not a little. We did not expect that a majority of the people of Illinois, who proudly claim to go for the largest liberty, and who have ever received all descriptions of foreigners with open arms, would refuse an asylum to an oppressed race, merely on account of their colour; and we are inclined to believe that many voted in favour of the exclusion of the free blacks, under the mistaken idea that if they should be allowed to settle in the State, under the provisions of the new Constitution, they would necessarily be admitted to all the rights and privileges of full citizenship. It is also probable that the decided stand taken against this instrument by the leading Abolitionists, under the impression that they would by this means have it in their power to defeat the article referred to with greater certainty, may have had a contrary effect, and induced many of the friends of each to combine their efforts for the success of both, and thus greatly served to swell the majorities in their favour. Be this, however, as it may—although we do not deem the adoption of the fourteenth article very creditable to our philanthropy, yet we do not apprehend any very serious evil will arise from it; and are somewhat inclined to the opinion that it will not, in its practical operation, materially change the present laws of the State in relation to coloured persons."

We do not see any necessity for philosophizing upon this subject, to learn why this clause has been adopted. Our people have been schooled to hate their fellow-men, and they have taken a very significant way of manifesting that hatred.

Selections.

From the Liberator.

SKETCH OF W. H. CHANNING'S SPEECH,

At the Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, April 6th.

WILLIAM H. CHANNING next addressed the meeting, in substance as follows:—

Our friend has asked us to baptize and stand sponsors for the new born Republic of France;—but as he was speaking, did not our hearts sadly respond, "Were we but worthy!" Dare we step forward to baptize it, from the pure fountain of our nation's early hopes? For as we raised our hands with those crystal waters to sign the cross upon the infant's brow, would there not drip from our fingers the blood of the slave? No! friends, our position should be one of penitence. As a prodigal youth, grown prematurely old by excess, conscious of his own shame, and the sorrow of his honest parents, looks down upon the innocent face of a late born brother, and says, "Once was there benediction on my head, and prayers upon my pathway; but I have wasted my life, and brought disgrace upon my name. Oh, my brother, follow not in my footsteps! Redeem my errors by your virtues; I give place—take thou the lead;"—so should stand the United States before Republican France, before Republican Europe, to-day. We have forfeited our birthright.

One proof, that we are not worthy to set ourselves up as an example, or to perform sacramental rites to the new Republic, is the spirit with which this glorious triumph of liberty is received. While all Christendom is glowing with enthusiasm, how comparatively tame we are! Where are the bonfires, and ringing of bells, where the processions and mass-meetings of the people, where the prompt action of cities and towns in their municipal capacity, the resolutions of sovereign States, the hearty congratulations of Congress? What an undertone of doubt pervades the public press! Pardon me for intruding upon more solemn associations, if, in illustration of the mode in which this new day of freedom has been welcomed by too large a portion of the influential people of this land, I quote the saying of a witty novelist:—"Master, the day is breaking." "Let it break—it owes me nothing." Is it not a fact, that, in a vast number of minds, the first thought, the last thought, in regard to this revolution, has been—"How will it affect us in our business? What are its influences on cotton, on commerce, on manufactures, on capital? Let there be no indiscriminate, no exaggerated criticism; for, undeniably, this is a most important view, and the very interest now felt and manifested in practical affairs, marks a progress in our race. But, on the other hand, where the oppressed and degraded multitudes, pale, haggard, bent double with toil, and faint with famine, are swarming out from cellars, lurking-holes, dens of misery, gloomy work-shops, hoping that *their* time has at last come for freedom to breathe the air, and see the sky, and stand erect in the dignity of manhood, it is mean, intensely mean, to be chiefly anxious as to the reactive influence of this great struggle upon our finances. Can we not bear cheerfully even a severe pecuniary loss, where tens of thousands of our fellows are willing to sacrifice their lives, their all, for humanity?

What does France, Europe owe us, is doubtless a momentous question; but it is secondary to another, even this: "*What do we owe them?*" The spirit of Christendom should prompt us to set a high price on our rights, but to value yet higher our DUTIES. What, then, is our duty in this great crisis of modern affairs? It is summed up in three words:—Recognition, Sympathy, Co-operation.

1. *Recognition.* We are bound, as reverers of Providence, as brethren of our fellow-men, clearly to comprehend the *character* of this revolution. Its character forces itself upon the attention of the most unwilling, in some degree; but many motives lead men to hide the full truth. A few nights since, I heard, in conversation with a most intelligent, honourable gentleman of the legal profession, the bold assertion, "This is a revolution of the *red cockade*"—meaning by that phrase, that it is an outbreak of the *sans culottes*, maddened with destructive rage, and a thirst for plunder and blood. Now, if one fact is more clear than another, in the whole movement, it is, that this is a peaceful uprising of a whole people, disciplined to wisdom by terrible experience, and calmly resolved to conserve what is good, and construct better conditions of life for all men!—Nothing is more surprising than the sublime mercy of the abused multitudes, their abstinence from violence, their regard for property, their earnest claim for established order. In fact, this movement is not a *Revolution*, in the usual sense of that word—it is a *Reform*. To some degree, this is acknowledged; but even the papers which have confessed that this movement was a Social, rather than a Political one, do not seem to feel the full significance of their words. This movement in France is an aspiration and effort after a SOCIAL REFORM; and thereby is a New Era in the world's history opened. The cry in Italy and Germany after Constitutional Governments, Free Presses, &c. is a continuation, in some sort, of the example which our declaration of independence and our Constitution have given to Europe; but this demand of the French Republic for "WORK AND WAGES" is far, far in advance of any principles expressed in the political institutions of this Republic. The old series of struggles end here, and a new series commences. The war between Monarch and Nobles,—between the Feudal Aristocracy and the Middling classes,—is over. We have reached the very centre now. Now comes the question of balance of power between the Third Estate and the Fourth Estate; between the Midding Classes and the Working-men; between the power of combined capitalists, and the power of the co-operative producers. Only when we clearly look this fact in the face, do we recognize the character of the Three Days of February, 1848. In the person of Louis Philippe were enthroned Commerce and Money.—He was the King of the kings of this age, the bankers, the large manufacturers, the merchants. The chief claim of his administration to respect is, that under it, a new impulse has been given to industry and trade. The credit of this is chiefly due to his ablest Minister, Casimir Perier. Let the monarch have the praise, however, of having followed the lead of a wise and able counsellor. But Louis Philippe embodied what is worst as well as what is best, in the mercantile and fiscal spirit of the age.—He was mean as a pedlar, a shrewd speculator, a grasping accumulator; and it was this intense selfishness that sealed his fate. In his dethronement, the interest which he represented has received its summons also, and the sympathy felt in his downfall by the conservative classes, springs from the dark foreboding, that a similar judgment awaits the tyranny of commerce and of money everywhere. The question of to-day is that of distribution; the problem of this generation is justice to the producers. In this social character of the French movement, all who are not blind may see the downfall of anarchical commerce and industrial feudalism, the commencement of equitable exchange and co-operative labour. To see this, is to *recognize* the revolution now sweeping over Christendom.

2. Now, such a movement as this merits our most cordial *sympathy*—sympathy for its large humanity, its peacefulness. The Provisional Government does not legislate for classes—it legislates for men. It is the first time in human history, that a Government has aimed, as its first act, to satisfy the multitude of men with practical realities—instead of lulling them to sleep, and coaxing and cajoling them with phrases and professions. The demand for justice to labour,—for a guarantee of livelihood,—as the fundamental condition of justice in all higher relations, is the remarkable characteristic of this movement in France. By the adoption of this principle of conduct, the acknowledgment of this responsibility, the Provisional Government have given the coup de grace to Slavery; for the moment men admit as a conviction to be acted upon, that one of man's fundamental rights is the right to labour, and to a just recompense for his labour, the dynasty of slaveholders is snapped and swept away forever.—Such Humanity as this is genuine, thoroughgoing, vital. In every man it sees his manhood—reveres his manhood—resolves to secure the conditions of its own growth and perfection.

And, again, with the attitude and tone of *peace*, with which these claims of humanity are urged, should we sympathize. Fears are expressed of anarchy, stocks fall, trade is paralyzed, capital draws in its circulations. Thereby comes the only danger to be dreaded. Dreaded *internally*, I mean; for it is possible that Absolutism, from its icy throne in the far Northeast, may roll down its avalanches, and spread out its glaciers, over the bloom and verdure of this new spring; and then, indeed, will come a war of extermination, never to be ended till Absolutism disappears like a polar night before the sun.—But the only real danger in this great reform is *fear*, the fear of the cultivated, the good, the rich, the influential. The poor do not wish war; the vast crowds of the care-worn, half-famished, half-naked "masses" of Europe, long for peaceful work. With tearful eyes, they have eaten so long the bitter bread of penury—feeling that they were crushed under a vast machine of power, which tore them limb from limb, and licked them up like dust as it swept onward, that now, when only a gleam of hope breaks in upon them, they are as exultant and eager as children. What the people long for to-day is leaders, wise, large-hearted, practical leaders, who, comprehending their trials, can point the way through the wilderness, to a better future. Nothing is so profoundly affecting to one who has a heart, as the *patience*, the almost infinite patience of the people. They wait! Oh ye experienced, shrewd, well-informed, refined, wealthy, will ye tell them how to spare you from injustice, while doing justice to themselves? If you cannot tell them, alas for us all!—They will kneel to you, and kiss your hands, yea! the very hem of your garments, if ye will but show them the *peaceful* way to a true Commonwealth. We should profoundly, cordially, unreservedly, hopefully sympathize with the Provisional Government, with the people of France, in their effort to bind all classes together by the living ties of mutual usefulness.

And now suppose that the very next arrival should bring us news that this grandest, most difficult experiment which a nation was ever called to make, had failed; that the thin crust of conventional proprieties had fallen into this seething crater of many opinions, many interests, many wants; that peaceful reform was lost in destructive revolution. Should we sympathize any the less with this much-tried nation? Nay! all the more. Noble impulses are working in her. Beneath her turbulence and extravagance of manner, is magnanimity of heart. True friendship between man and man is, amidst errors, and even crimes, to see the vital good still struggling in the soul; true friendship between nation and nation, is unfaltering trust in each other's essential virtues. And if, to-morrow, we should hear of another Reign of Terror in Paris,—none the less, but all the more, should we do justice by discriminating, honourable sympathy to the sublime purpose, manifested in the present movement to raise up every man to true manhood, to unite all men in true brotherhood. But great as is the effort to be made, it is disloyal to France, to doubt of her success. Heaven bless her leaders, her people, with triumph.

3. And how shall we add acts to our sympathy? how shall we co-operate in this great effort of Christendom to make itself Christian? Does it not seem to you as if, when the congratulations of the Congress of the United States is offered to France, the earnest and eloquent Lamartine would be justified in saying, "Take home your barren professions! we spurn the congratulations of a nation of Republican slaveholders! Ye hypocrites, of whom Christendom is sick, go hence! Cleanse first your garments foul with the gore and tears of your oppressed fellow-countrymen, then come again and ye shall hear our acknowledgment of your tardy justice." But what a farce is it for us to pretend to offer France the testimonial of our respect, while we are fighting to extend the domains of slaveholding usurpation, and her first act has been to emancipate her colonies! Do you remember to have read, in the history of the awful days of September, in the first revolution, that prominent amidst those human butchers, towered a gigantic black, his bare chest spotted with blood, always a streaming head in the one hand, and a sword in the other, always shouting for fresh victims? Does not that appalling form appear as a symbol of the black race taking vengeance on their white oppressors? At the very pillow of this nation, prostrate as she lies in her drunken dream of conquest, stands that hideous phantom. Let not, in the name of humanity, let not the hour of the slave's redemption be delayed; else to us also may come those words of doom, that rung the knell of the Bourbons, "Too late." Now, if ever, should every one who loves this nation, even in her crimes, consecrate himself anew to the work of doing justice, first of all to the slave.—Till that is done, it is utterly folly and madness for us to hope to follow in the path whereinto Europe is pressing onward. And yet, what is this very State of Massachusetts about to do, very possibly, very probably? To barter away the remnant of her honour for the poor chance of a Vice Presidency, and raise to the chief place of power, among this professed free people, the man who led our marauding bands in the war of slaveholding aggression! First to tamper with the slave oligarchy for the end of advancing her own commerce, she is half-willing to be the last in sycophancy, bribed by her own mercenaries. To co-operate with France, with Europe, with Christendom, to-day, is to resolve to redeem this nation from her shameful career of duplicity and injustice. One lesson the French people have taught us by this success, *never to despair*, and *to seize occasions*. Who knows what opening may come, during this very year, that may enable us to settle the fate of Slavery, once and forever—and that by moral means—the demonstration of popular will? Let us watch and be ready.

But yet further may we work together with the reformers of France and of Europe, by dethroning from its rule over this nation, the power of commerce and money. Here is the true work to which we are summoned. It is the intense love of gain, the intoxication of wealth, the insane mercenariness of our people, that has so long kept us back from fulfilling in deeds the bright ideal of this nation.—All classes are corrupted; each corrupts the other. We are a peddling, huckstering, overreaching, grasping race, individually, and collectively. No justice has ever been done here to the *producers*,—no justice will be done, until the very conscience of this nation is aroused, and its judgment convinced of the need of reform. We have established here, by common consent, the aristocracy of wealth, and it dictates its laws to the press, the pulpit, the legislative halls. Now, when the crisis has come, when the dawn of this Transition Age is broken upon us, let us not pull down our curtains, and turn over on our couch of sluggish conventionalism. Friends, not to the Banker-King of France alone is it said, to-day, by the shades of departed tyrannies, "How art thou fallen, and become like one of us!" But within every man's glittering palace of worldly pride, and ostentatious folly, and mercenary self-indulgence, there comes forth a hand, that writes upon its walls, "Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting." The judgment of Providence, to-day, is not against men, nor classes; but against the all-pervading vice of Mammon Worship. Nor by violence, conflict, destruction, can THE WORK be done, to which this generation is summoned; but by calm, wise, efficient concert of action. *The work of to-day* is the elevation of Producers to all the privileges of social life—to cultures—opportunities of labour—the possession of property—social position.

Brethren, well am I aware that the tone of these remarks is solemn even to sternness. God knows, that, for one, I feel only shame in the contrast of our position, as a people, with that of France. There, with heaps of antiquated corruptions crushing the new Republic to the earth, it is peacefully raising the most downfallen to honour; here, with every opportunity to unlimited prosperity to all, the United States are building a throne of conquest on a groaning pyramid of the oppressed. Shame on us!—shame! One most touching incident of the three days, we may well take to heart. The crowd found in the palace a statue of Christ. "Brethren," said a young student of the Polytechnique, "here is the Master of us all." They bore that white figure through the dense masses of the multitude, which opened its files before it, to the Church of the Madeline. So, within the very heart of this nation, stands the image of Divine Love, of heavenly fraternity; let us bear it before us to our temple of penitence. (Cheers.)

From the Correspondence of the Herald.

THE WASHINGTON RIOT.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1848.

Great Meeting of the Sovereigns—The B'Hoys—The National Era—Down with it—The feeling in the Mass—The Orators on the occasion, and other matters and things too numerons to be mentioned.

Since the stealing of eighty of the slaves of this District, by the Captain of an oyster boat from Jersey, there has been great excitement with men, and particularly among the boys, who are ever ripe for action and for sport.

About fifteen hundred of law-abiding and law disregarding people, met in front of the Patent office this evening, at eight o'clock, to deliberate about what should be done with the *National Era* office, which many have recently discovered to exist, although it has had "a local habituation and a name" for two years. "*National Era*," "*National Era*," was in everybody's mouth, and at the point of every street; and amid all the indignation expressed against this abolition print, there was much sport, as will presently appear.

Mr. LENOX, the President of the Board of Aldermen, took a stand on one of the wings of the steps, and spoke to his fellow citizens. He told them that he was reared in the District, that he had an interest in the city, (he is a large property holder,) and that, in his view, it would be disreputable to accomplish by force what could be effected by law. 'It is too late!' cried a man in the crowd. 'Ah,' replied Mr. Lenox, it is not too late to preserve our character as good citizens. 'It is too late,' was exclaimed in the Chamber of Deputies, when an attempt was made to place the crown of France upon the head of the infant Duke. It is not 'too late for us to act as becomes freemen; as citizens of the metropolis of the Union.' 'It is too late,' shouted another of the sovereigns, and there were responses, 'Ah! that's the sort.' 'Down with the *Era*.' Mr. Lenox said that the Mayor of the city (Mr. Seaton, of the *National Intelligencer*) was sick, and after consultation with him, he had consented to address his fellow-citizens. 'Down with the *Era*,' again went up with a shout, and then cries for 'Bradley,' one of our most influential and intelligent citizens. Jokes were cracked in the crowd, and peals of laughter succeeded. Mr Lenox contended that no good could result from the demolition of the office, and if this were done, we would have to award damages. 'Damn the expense,' exclaimed a hardfister, with a club in his hand. 'That's the sort!' 'that's the talk!' &c., were expressions of frequent occurrence.

'Robinson!' 'Robinson!' was loudly called for—'Bull, come out!' So Mr. E. B. Robinson took the rostrum. He said that the feelings of the public had been outraged. ['Ay, ay!'] An insult has been offered to the community. The public authorities had been derelict in duty. Why did not the grand jury indict the *Era* as a nuisance? ['Down with it!'] Why didn't they treat it as they did Garrison's paper here years ago? They made him pack up and be off. ['Down with the *Era*!'] These moderate scoundrels are the worst kind of scoundrels. [Ha! ha! 'that's it! give it to 'em!' The press should not be suffered to exist. ['No! no!'] I'd give them till to-morrow to decamp. ['Now!' 'now!'] Every feeling has been outraged. ['Down with the *Era*!'] If the law will not protect us, we must take the remedy into our own hands.—['Give it to 'em, Bull!' Ha! ha!] He concluded his remarks, and

Mr. Radcliffe, of the Washington bar, in response to the loud calls for him, delivered an address. Every one knew that he had always stood up for the rights of the South. He had done so in the West—in Ohio [Hurrah] But, gentlemen, what can you do ['tear it down!'] by the course of conduct that you designate? Why act with such haste? Let us adjourn now, and call a meeting to-morrow night, or Friday, and deliberate. ['It's too late!' Ha! ha!] What will you do? [Tear down the office now.'] Tear down the office under the darkness of night? ['No, the moon is shining.' Ha! ha!] Why not wait until to-morrow? Meet in the day time. ('Now or never.') I know you have been aggrieved; I know that if the mad schemes of deluded people are persevered in, our houses may be given to the flames. ['Ay, that's it; apply the flames to the *Era*'] I will meet you at another time. ['Now, now.'] Let us reflect upon the matter. ['It is too late,' 'do it now!'] We can meet to-morrow, or the day after, and appoint a committee to see what can be done in the premises. ['Let Baker out] Why, gentlemen, we would entitle ourselves to no credit. ['Release Baker,'—who was taken up for being drunk before the *Era* office, and placed in limbo.] Let us, I repeat, go home and assemble to-morrow if you choose, and take measures for the abatement of the nuisance. ['No,' 'no,' 'act now,' 'now,' 'now,' rung through the crowd.]

At last it was decided that a committee should be appointed 'forthwith,' and five from each ward was suggested 'And Georgetown,' said several voices—'Agreed,' 'agreed,' 'And Piscataway!' exclaimed another. 'Agreed,' 'agreed.'

Mr. Ratcliffe proceeded to read the names of the committeemen. Some of them were disagreed to, and the majority acquiesced in. When the name of Mr. Boyle was read, one of the boys said, 'that's good, he's an Irishman, and hates negroes.' Ha! ha! Finally, after much fun, the committee was declared to be filled. 'Go, now,' 'its anter.' And they left the scene for the residence of Dr. Bailey, the editor of the *Era*, who lives near the General Post Office Department, and a stone's throw from the Patent office.

In the absence of the committee, Pete Hutchins, a former bailiff, who had been drinking too much, addressed his 'feller-citigises.' His voice was thick and husky, and nobody understood what he said, except an expression that he 'would break somebody's head, if they didn't stop pulling his coat tail.' 'Down with Hutchins,' 'turn him out,' 'you're a damn fool,' and similar observations fell from lips that were designed to utter high toned moral sentiment, but were spoiled in the manufacture. And sure enough Hutchins was hustled down the steps. A mischievous boy jerked off his cap and he dextrously flourished his stick above the heads of his tormentors. There was a general gambolling among the boys, and the men gathered in knots to talk about the ludicrous scene presented.

'The Committee are coming.' 'Here they are!' and the gentlemen resumed their places on the wing of the Patent office steps. Mr. Radcliffe reported that they waited upon Dr. Bailey, and that the doctor was very respectful to them, and began to talk of constitutional rights. (Hisses.) But the committee informed the doctor that it was too late. ('That's it.') The whole amount of the matter was, that the editor said that he would give no pledges or promise anything. ['Down with the *Era*!'] Mr. Radcliffe endeavoured to check the disposition, too evident to be mistaken, to tear down the office.

We could'nt hear his remarks distinctly; but we saw a sudden movement round the corner towards the doomed establishment. We ran, to be in at the smashing of forms, galleys, and power-presses. We wanted to see how it could 'be did.' A stone was thrown at the window, and ting-el-ling went the glass. 'Another strike boys, and the day is ours,' and bang went a brick bat at the door. 'Fight!' 'Fight!' The crowd began to retreat, and leave the combatants to the field. It appeared that Capt. Goddard and his guard had rolled back the human tide that wassetting in against the passage door, and were, like the Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ, disputing the way. Bang, bang, again went brickbats.—'Is there no one to lead?' cried out a man in a blouse.—'You're afeard.' 'Who will follow me?' 'Let's get in at the back way!'

Mr. Kay, the United States District Attorney, and the son of the deceased author of the Star Spangled Banner, ascended the horse trough in front of a grocery, and asked the crowd what they were doing there, and what they wanted. ['Sit down!'] Was it to destroy property, to attack an unoffending house? ['The press, we want to destroy the press.'] Gentlemen, fellow citizens, you know that I am no Abolitionist. [You're a hypocrite, you are.'] I was raised here, and I call upon you, as freemen, as friends of law and order, to forego your designs. The law will remedy any existing evil. The constitution of your country will give you justice. ['It hasn't done it.'] I wish to be heard. ['That's the right way to talk; we'll stand by you.'] This gentleman made an earnest appeal to the assembly to separate, and said that those who were instigating the disturbance were the least interested in the property of slaves.

Mr. Robinson again arose. ['Ledru Rollin's up, listen, boys.'] He remarked that he had been assured by Mr. Kay, that some measures would be taken to abate the nuisance. What he said did not seem to be received with favour; and the boys cried out, 'Down with the office.'

Until this time there was much seriousness. We expected every moment to see a crowd pressing in to destroy the press; but now there was a falling off of fervency. The tail had no head—there was no leader.

A large, wiskered gentleman, mounted the horse-trough in front of the grocery. He wanted to be heard. 'Who are you?' 'My name, said he 'is Honeycutt; is is spelled Honey-Kont' [Laughter] 'You're no citizen." 'I am; I have been living here three years and I expect to die here.' 'What did you say your name was?' 'Honeykont, G-d damn you,' 'Ha! ha! that's rich.' 'He is a clerk in the Treasury Department.' He said that he was from the South, and was a pro-slavery man. If the crowd would go home, he would lead them to-morrow morning, ['Now, now.'] Well gentlemen, I'll make the first move for home—who'll follow?' 'I will,' 'I will,' 'I will,' shouted a hundred voices. So Mr. Honeykont led the way—the men followed—the office was not pulled down—the press was not destroyed and at 11 o'clock, there being no indication that it would be done, we left the primises and at half past twelve, and a moonlight morning we conclude our hasty outline of what took place on an occasion hereafter to be considered memorable.

FELIX.

From the National Intelligencer.

CAPTURE OF RUNAWAY SLAVES.

During the whole of Sunday, Monday, and yesterday, very great excitement has prevailed in this city and Georgetown, arising out of the fact that many citizens of the two places had been deprived of their servants, and it being ascertained that they had been taken on board a suspicious vessel which had brought wood to this city, and left the wharf at the foot of Seventh street, on Saturday night, and set sail down the river. Although among the missing slaves were about eighteen or twenty from Georgetown, it was also ascertained that there were more than thirty belonging to citizens of Washington.

The citizens of Georgetown determined on Sunday to give chase to the piratical schooner; and having procured the steamboat Salem, Captain Baker, the pursuers, about thirty in number, armed with muskets and other weapons, left Georgetown at 1 o'clock, and as quickly as possible followed the schooner down the Potomac. There were various reports in the city on Monday night, that the runaway slaves had been captured, after a desperate struggle, in which seven of their number were killed; but none of these reports were true Nothing was known of either the fugitives or their pursuers until 7 o'clock yesterday morning, when the Salem arrived at our steamboat wharf, bringing with her the schooner and all the slaves prisoners, together with Edward Sayres, a white man, who was Captain of the schooner, and a person named Daniel Drayton, of Philadelphia, who had chartered her.

It appears that the Salem discovered the schooner (called the Pearl) lying in Cornfield harbour, at the mouth of the Potomac, about 2 o'clock on Monday morning. The fugitives seventy-seven in number were fast asleep below, and Edward Sayres, the captain, Chester English, a white man, and Daniel Drayton were also below. The Salem being immediately run alongside the Pearl, the Georgetown party almost instantaneously boarded her, fastened down the hatches, and secured the fugitives and the white men on board. The movement was a rapid and successful one, and all on board the Pearl were thus made prisoners without bloodshed, although it was evident that the slaves would have resisted if there had been any chance of escape.

On the arrival of the Salem and the schooner at the steamboat wharf yesterday a large number of persons were assembled, some of whom used very threatening language toward the white men who were brought up prisoners; and if the latter escaped without serious personal injury, it was owing to the prudence and firmness of the guard by whom they were attended, and their being quickly conveyed to jail in a hack, which was pressed into immediate requisition.

We called at the jail yesterday, after the safe lodgment of the prisoners and the fugitives, and we learned from the commitment of Justice Williams, who went down the Potomac in the Salem with the pursuing party, that Edward Sayres, Chester English and Daniel Drayton, have been committed for further examination on the charge of aiding slaves to escape from their owners.

The fugitives consist of 38 men, 26 women, and 13 children. They are now all in prison.

We learn that a final examination of the parties in confinement will take place to-day at 1 o'clock, before Justices Williams and Goddard.

From the National Era, April 20th.

DISTURBANCE.

Last Saturday night, we learn, some seventy or eighty slaves escaped from this place, in a sloop or schooner, and proceeded down the river. The fact was not discovered till next day, when a steamboat was despatched in pursuit. The fugitives, together with three white men who navigated the craft, were caught, brought back, and imprisoned.

A great deal of excitement was the result; and the cry soon arose among the crowd, that the *National Era* was the cause of the mischief. Of course, there was no truth in this—not one particle. But, excited men do not inquire or reason. While we are writing this, at ten o'clock at night, a crowd of men and boys is collected about the office; many stones have been thrown; but the police are striving to do their duty. They may fail; the multitude may overpower them; but we hope for the best.

We cannot but think that the sober second thought of the ringleaders in this affair will arouse compunction for this violent assault against the liberty of the press—a liberty in our case which even they dare not say has been abused.

All we have to say is, we stand by the freedom of the press, whatever the result.

Wednesday morning, 8 o'clock.—The mob dispersed last night about 12 o'clock—thanks to the efficient conduct of Capt. Goddard, and the rest of the police. The rumour that the office of the *National Era* was concerned in the escape of the slaves in the Pearl, is utterly groundless—this, its originators know, but they are willing to use it to inflame popular feeling against our Press. Whatever we do, we do openly. We cherish an instinctive abhorrence of any movement which would involve us in the necessity of concealment, strategy, or trickery of any kind.

No! No! We understand this outrage. It is aimed at the Freedom of the Press. We own and edit a paper which is as free as the winds of heaven. It bows neither to Slavery, nor to the mob. We stand upon our rights as a man, and as an American citizen, and will use these rights in speaking and writing freely upon any subject we please, despite all threats or violence.

It is a damning disgrace, that, at the very moment we are rejoicing with the people of France at their triumph over a despot who undertook to *enslave the Press*, an attempt should be made to strike down the freedom of the Press in the Capital city of this Republic, in sight of the National Legislature.

We are again threatened—the outrage is to be repeated, it is said. And for what? What is our offence? Is there a man in this community whom we have injured? Have we not been kind and courteous to all men, studious of the proprieties which ought to distinguish the discussion of all important questions? There is no man in this city who has examined our paper, that finds any fault with its tone, style, or temper.

Enough. We yield to no violence. We appeal to the good sense of this community, aye, and as we said, the sober thought of the infatuated persons, who, in a paroxysm of blind excitement, assailed our press. It cannot be, that, in the nineteenth century, in the face of a world struggling for free thought, free speech, free action, and looking up to this Republic for example and encouragement, a free press should be put down by violence in the capital city of this Republic.

The following extract is from a letter in the Boston Courier, written, we presume, by Mr. Edmund Jackson:

It is now thirty years since I last passed over much of this route, traversed the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and became somewhat familiar with the country and its principal cities and places. Wherever I go now, people assure me of great changes and increase of buildings, wealth, &c.; but I am compelled to confess my inability to see all this, or to recognize any distinctive difference or marked change from that time to this. Some increase of population, of buildings, and business, in the cities, and possibly in the country, has doubtless occurred, but of too trifling amount to attract attention, much less alter at all the general aspect, characteristics, and condition of things. If any one, familiar with localities, places, and customs, were transported in his sleep, and set down in any of them, after a thirty years' absence, he would find no difficulty of telling where he was on waking. In one respect there is indeed a change, and a marked one—that is, in the means of locomotion. The railroads, poor as they are, (that between Petersburg and Weldon accomplished but eight miles per hour,) are still a wonderful improvement upon the old stage wagon and sand road at the South.

But the same amount of forest, barren soil, and worn out fields, meet the eye throughout the long dreary route from Baltimore to Charleston. The same wretched labourers—men, women, and children—are seen in the fields, and the same apathy and stolid expression characterizes them. The same miserable hut of the slave, through the innumerable leaks and crevices of which, the strong and bitter March wind is now whistling, and the scarcely better log cabins of the white population, yet universally exist, precisely now as formerly. The chimneys built of wood, cob-house fashion, and plastered internally with clay, are the same, and through which the rising smoke gives the only visible evidence that they are tenanted. Glass, in these dwellings, there is none, nor have most of them any opening, except that of a solitary door and the chimney-top.

What changes since the period I refer to, what advances in physical science, for comfort, convenience, and luxury,—what mental acquisition and wealth have the free States of this country secured, and what a total stagnation, comparatively, in all these respects, do the slave States now exhibit! Vigorous and healthy growth characterizes one portion of our common country—decay, dilapidation and poverty seems the destiny of the other.

People say here, "We aint like you are at the North. We do n't take pains and do like you do, and have everything." No, my friends, that fact is certainly apparent enough, but what is the reason you are "not like we are at the North," and that "you do n't do like we do?" "Oh, we do n't know, but the people here aint like they are at the North." True, again. But what makes the difference?—What, I say, is the reason? "Well, we do n't know, but we 've got so many niggers more than you have." True, so you have, and for the most part they do look rather unpromising, I confess; but do n't you think they might improve, and become as industrious, thoughtful, and provident as white people, or as our negroes at the North? "How, pray?" Why, by emancipating them; by abolishing Slavery.—"What! set all the niggers free?" Yes, every mother's son of them—set them all free at once and forever. "Oh, no! that will never do; that won't do at all; they can't take care of themselves; they won't work; they 'd all starve." Well, then, let them starve and welcome, if they prefer starvation to honest labour, and then you will be entirely rid of them; their places will be filled by free labouring emigrants, and your own poor white population who are now too proud to work, and you will then be as you say you wish to be, and have everything around in peace and comfort, "like we have at the North." "Oh! it won't do at all; if they were free they would cut all our throats." "Pooh!—clear your heads of such nonsense, and do n't be afraid of the consequences of truth and righteousness."

This is no fiction, or fancy sketch, but the literal truth and substance of conversations I have listened to here as well as elsewhere.

Although, comparatively, we see but little of Slavery, of its details, and minutiæ, in travelling through the South, yet its influences, its consequences, its results, are all around us, open and palpable as the light of day. Some of its revolting scenes, however, will encounter us whether we look for them or not, and they will cause feelings of shame and indignation to stir the most apathetic. The slave mart, or bazaar, held on the greatest thoroughfare of this city, will arrest the attention of the stranger, and he can hardly help pausing to witness a scene that outrages every principle of justice and of right, and revolts every impulse of humanity. It requires some nerve and firmness on the part of a novice to suppress emotion at the sight of a human being on the auction table, and to witness the rude handling of the slave, male or female, and listen to the slang and gibe of the auctioneers on the physical proportions, qualities, &c. of the article they are selling.

It is here, on the auction block, that the degradation of Slavery seems the most complete, and the sinking of the man into the brute most striking. It is a position, too, in which the anxiety and misery of the negro is most forcibly depicted on his countenance.

The slave-traffic, not less dreaded by the slaves than the slave-mart, attracts, also, to some of its aspects, the notice of the traveller, and the same train that carries him South, has frequently its Guinea car filled with human cattle, if we may be allowed the phrase, for the Southern market. Two slave-traders with their drove, joined us at Petersburg in Virginia, and filled one car. They had gathered their lot of about 60, from various parts of the Ancient Dominion, and travelled with us to Charleston, where they took the cars for Hamburgh, their ultimate destination. There were but four or five males in the lot, the rest being females, mostly between the ages of 16 and 25, and many of them with infants in their arms. Doubtless a volume might be filled with heart-rending scenes that occurred at the separation of the fathers and children, husbands and wives, of this lot of slaves. The conveyance now by railroad is far less revolting in appearance than the old method of the coffle, where a long chain passed through the files, and the men marched on each side hand-cuffed to the chain,—women and children in the rear, all on foot except those unable to walk.

J.

CONGRESS.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE-CASE.—We mentioned last week the motion of Mr. Giddings, in the House, in relation to the imprisonment of the recaptured fugitives. The following is the National Intelligencer's report of the proceedings of the House:

Mr. *Giddings* rose and asked the unanimous consent of the House to introduce a resolution. [Cries of "read it, read it," and "object."]

Mr. *Meade* rose and said he objected to the reading of the resolution. [Several voices: "Oh! let it be read."]

The *Speaker* directed the Clerk to abstain from reading the resolution until the House came to order. He then desired gentlemen to take their seats; and order having been restored, he said the Chair understood that the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Meade,) objected to the reading of the resolution. In strictness, the reading of a resolution for information might be objected to, but it had been the uniform practice of the House, when a gentleman asked for the reading of a resolution, to allow it to be read by general consent for information merely.—The Chair knew no instance of a refusal when the general consent was asked. If, however, the gentleman from Virginia persisted in his objection, the resolution would not be read.

Mr. *Meade* said if the resolution had no relation to Slavery, he had no objection to the reading, but he should object if it had.

A conversation ensued between several members; and

Mr. *Meade* again rose, and said, at the suggestion of some of his friends, he withdrew his objection to the reading.

The Clerk then read the resolution, as follows:—

Whereas more than eighty men, women, and children, are said to be now confined in the prison of the District of Columbia, without being charged with crime, or of any impropriety, other than an attempt to enjoy that liberty for which our fathers encountered toil, suffering, and death itself, and for which the people of many European Governments are now struggling:

And whereas said prison was erected, and is now sustained by funds contributed by the people of the free as well as of the slave States, and is under the control of the laws and officers of the United States:

And whereas such practice is derogatory to our national character, incompatible with the duty of a civilized and Christian people, and unworthy of being sustained by an American Congress. Therefore—

Be it Resolved, That a select committee of five members of this body be appointed to inquire into and report to this House by what authority said prison is used for the purpose of confining persons who have attempted to escape from Slavery, with leave to report what legislation is proper in regard to said practice.

Resolved further, That said Committee be authorized to send for persons and papers.

The *Speaker* then stated the question to be on granting leave to introduce the resolution.

[Several voices objected.]

Mr. *Holmes*, of South Carolina, said that if the resolution was considered, he would move to amend, by an inquiry whether the scoundrels who caused them to be sent there, ought not to be hung. [Laughter.]

Mr. *King*, of Georgia, hoped the House would allow one hour to be devoted to the reception of reports from committees.

Mr. *Rockwell* concurred in that wish, and moved to postpone the special order for one hour—being the election case. The motion was agreed to.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1848.

THE DEBATE IN THE SENATE.—We occupy the inside of this week's paper, to the exclusion of almost every thing else, with the remarkable debate in the U. S. Senate, on M. Hale's motion to introduce a bill for protection against mobs. Considering it of great importance, and anticipating the anxiety of our readers to see it, we omit much that was already in the printer's haannds—interesting letter from Dublin, a poem from Mr. Lowell, book notices, &c. &c.—to give it to them at the earliest period. We have no room left even for a brief comment. We copy from Houston's official report:

Agreeably to notice, Mr. HALE asked leave to introduce a bill for the Protection of Property in the District of Columbia—making any city, town, or corporate place liable for injuries done by mobs.

Mr. *Hale*—I wish to make a single remark, in order to call the attention of the Senate to the necessity of adopting the legislation proposed by this bill. The bill itself is nearly an abstract of a similar law now in force in the adjoining State of Maryland, and also in many other States of the Union. The necessity for the passage of the bill will be apparent to the Senate from facts which are probably notorious to every member of the body. Within the present week, large and riotous assemblages of the people have taken place in the District, and have not only threatened to carry into execution schemes utterly subversive to all law, with respect to the rights of property, but have actually carried these threats into execution, after having been addressed, upheld and countenanced by men of station in society, whose character might have led us to suppose that they would have taken a different course, and given wiser councils to those whom they addressed. It seems to me, then, that we have approached a time when the decision is to be made in this Capitol, whether mob-law or Constitutional law, is to reign paramount. The bill which I now propose to introduce, simply makes any city, town, or incorporated place within the District, liable for all injuries done to property by riotous or tumultuous assemblages. Whether any farther legislation on the part of Congress will be necessary, time will determine. But I may be permitted to say, that at the present moment, we present a singular spectacle to the people of this country and to the world. The votes of congratulation which this Senate sent across the Atlantic to the people of France, on their deliverance from thraldom, have hardly ceased, when the supremacy of mob-law, and the destruction of the Freedom of the Press, are threatened in this Capital of the Union. Without farther remark, I move that this bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. *Bagby*—I rise for the purpose of giving notice that whenever that bill shall be reported by the Committee—if it ever should be—I shall propose to amend it by a section providing a sufficient penalty for the crime of kidnapping in this District. I was struck by a remark made by the Senator from New-Hampshire. He adverts to the rejoicing of the people of this country at the events now in progress in Europe, and thence infers that the slaves of this country are to be permitted to cut the throats of their masters. I shall certainly, Sir, attend to this subject.

Mr. *Hale*—To avoid misapprehension I purposely abstained from saying a word in regard to anything that might even be supposed to lie beyond the case which it is the object of this bill to meet. I did not make the most distant allusion to Slavery. I refrained from it purposely because I wanted to present to the consideration of the Senate the simple question of the integrity of the law and the rights of property unembarrassed by considerations of the character alluded to by the honourable Senator from Alabama. I shall accordingly unite with that honourable Senator in favour of a law against kidnapping. Because, if I am correctly informed by individuals upon whose testimony I place the most implicit credit, that one of the most outrageous cases of kidnapping was committed within sight of this Capitol, no longer ago than yesterday, and that too in the case of an individual having in his pocket an injunction issued by the highest judicial authority in this District to restrain all persons from molesting him. Yet, in violation of the injunction, he was forcibly seized, not only without law, but against law—not only in utter neglect, but in flagrant contempt of the most sacred guarantee of the Constitution. This outrage was perpetrated within the limits of the city, in the very neighbourhood of the Capitol.—I will, then, go with the Senator from Alabama, heart and hand in the adoption of any legislation for the prevention of such outrage; but I must say that that is very foreign to the object of the bill which I have introduced.

Mr. *Benton*—There is some very pressing business awaiting the action of the Senate, and I do not know that the remarks which have been made are applicable to any motion pending at present. May I ask if there be any question pending?

The *Presiding Officer*—The question is, shall the Senator from New Hampshire have leave to introduce his bill.

Mr. *Calhoun*—What is the bill?

The *Presiding Officer*—The bill will be read.

The Secretary then read the bill, which is as follows:

[The nature of the bill has been stated above.]

Mr. *Calhoun*—I suppose no Senator can mistake the object of this bill, and the occurrence which has led to its introduction. Now, Sir, I am amazed that even the Senator from New Hampshire should have so little regard for the laws and the Constitution of the country, as to introduce such a bill as this, without including in it the enactment of the severest penalties against the atrocious act which has occasioned this excitement. Sir, gentlemen, it would seem, have at last come to believe, that the Southern people and Southern members have lost all sensibility or feeling upon this subject. I know to what this leads. I have known for a dozen of years to what all this is tending. When this subject was first agitated, I said to my friends, there is but one question that can destroy this Union and our institutions, and that is, this very slave question, for I choose to speak of it directly. I said farther, that the only way by which such a result could be prevented, was by prompt and efficient action—that if the thing were permitted to go on, and the Constitution to be trampled on—that if it were allowed to proceed to a certain point, it would be beyond the power of any man or any combination of men to prevent the result. We are approaching that crisis, and evidence of it is presented by the fact, that such a bill upon such an occurrence, should be brought in to prevent the just indignation of our people from wreaking their vengeance upon the atrocious perpetrators of these crimes, or those who contribute to them without a denunciation of the cause, that excited that indignation. I cannot but trust that I do not stand alone in these views.

I have for so many years raised my voice upon this subject, that I have been considered almost the exclusive defender of this great institution of the South, upon which not only its prosperity, but its very existence depends. I had hoped younger members who have come into this body, who represent portions of the country at least as much interested as that from which I come, might have taken the lead and relieved me from the necessity of ever again speaking upon this subject. I trust we will grant no leave to introduce this bill—that we will reject it, and if anything be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, it will be to make penal enactments—to prevent these atrocities—these piratical attempts on our own rivers (these wholesale captures) these robberies of seventy odd of our slaves at a single grasp. Delay is dangerous on this question. The crisis has come, and we must meet it—and meet it directly—and I will add we have ample means to meet it. We can put the issue to the North, if they disregard the provisions of the Constitution in our favour—if their sea-going vessels cannot safely come up into our ports, we can prevent them from coming here, and thus make the issue at once.—If the stipulations in the Constitution in our favour are not to be respected, why should we respect those in others? I do not intend to make a long speech on this occasion, but I would here feel myself to be lacking in my duty to the people of the District, to the people of the South, and to the people of the United States, had I not raised my voice against the introduction of such a bill on such an occasion.

Mr. *Westcott*—I am not going to make a speech on this bill, for the simple reason that I intend, after a few observations, to move to lay this motion for leave to introduce the bill, upon the table, and ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. *Calhoun*—The bill is not yet introduced.

Mr. *Westcott*—The Senator from New Hampshire asks leave to introduce the bill, and I move to lay it upon the table.

Mr. *Calhoun*—Better reject it. I trust we will meet it directly and reject it,

Mr. *Westcott*—I did not understand the Honourable Senator from South Carolina; but, now that I do, I am perfectly willing to adopt the suggestion,

Mr. *Calhoun*—I would greatly prefer to meet the motion directly and reject it.

Mr. *Westcott*—I have no objection to that, and had taken but another mode of attaining that object. In answer to the suggestion of the Honourable Senator from South Carolina, that it was the duty of other Senators, representing the South, to speak on this matter, I will state one reason only why I could not do so. I could not trust my own feelings when I heard the Senator from New Hampshire introduce this bill. Sir, there has been no outbreak, no violence in this District. There has been no disturbance except on the part of a set of men who, it seems, have come into this district for the purpose of assailing slave owners in the peaceful enjoyment of their property, secured to them by the Constitution which we have all sworn to support. There has been public indignation manifested by an assemblage of those who have been thus wronged, but has there been any violence as yet?—any destruction of property?—No. I wonder that there has not been. And when the Senator from New Hampshire proclaims that there is danger of this, I call upon him for his testimony in relation to this matter. Where does he get evidence that any portion of the property of citizens of this District is to be be burned down or destroyed? I was present last night as a spectator, at a large assemblage of the citizens of this district. I heard law officers of this District and other gentlemen speak on the occasion, but I heard nothing by any means so incendiary as I have heard since the Honourable Senator took his seat upon this floor. It is true, indignation was expressed, but leading citizens of this District and slaveholders declared that they were averse to any act of overt violence. Indeed this assemblage, which has been called a tumultuous mob, peaceably appointed a committee of fifty citizens to wait on the editor, and request him to remove his incendiary publication which had provoked this excitement. I have only to say, Sir, that I readily yield to the suggestion of the Honourable Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. *Davis*, of Mississippi—The Senator from South Carolina has remarked that he expected that some younger member of this body would notice the motion of the Senator from New Hampshire to introduce a bill, the purpose of which is the protection of incendiaries and kidnappers. I have only to say that it is from no want of accordance in feeling with that Honourable Senator, but from deference to him who has so long and so nobly stood forward in defence of the institutions of the South, that I remain silent. It was rather that I wish to follow him than that I did not feel the indignation which he has so well expressed. The time has come when, if this District is to be made the theatre of such contests, Congress should interpose the legislation necessary for the punishment of those men who come within our jurisdiction, acting in fact and in morals as incendiaries—coming here to steal a portion of that property which is recognized as such by the Constitution of the United States, Why is it that in this body, looked to as the conservative branch of the Government—once looked to as so dignified that it stood above the power of faction—that we find the subject of this contest so insulting to the South—so insulting always when it is agitated and introduced on such an occasion? Is this debatable ground? No! It is ground upon which the people of this Union may shed their blood, and that is the first result, if it be pressed any farther; and if this Senate is to be made the theatre of that contest, let it come—the sooner the better. We who represent the Southern States are not here to be insulted on account of this institution which we inherit. And if civil discord is to be thrown from this Chamber upon the land, let it germinate here, and I am ready for one to meet it with any incendiary who, dead to every feeling of patriotism, attempts here to produce it.

Mr. *Foote*—On the 4th of March, 1836, the American people of all parties assembled at this Capital for the purpose of witnessing the inauguration of the President of the United States. The President was a Northern man. I had the honour of listening to his inaugural speech, and in it he wisely and patriotically asserted a principle of which I approved at the time, which I still admire, and which has a close affinity to the question so suddenly presented to this body. Martin Van Buren dared to declare in his inaugural speech that though it was his opinion—and it certainly is not mine—that Congress has the power to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, yet he conceived that it could not be done without the most odious and unpardonable breach of faith toward the slave States of the Confederacy, especially Maryland and Virginia. This declaration, not altogether unexpected, gave temporary quiet and satisfaction to the South. I had thought until recently, that there were very few men in the republic claiming anything like a prominent standing among their fellow citizens who entertained a different opinion from that thus expressed, or who, if entertaining it, would undertake to express it in the national councils of this Republic. But the abolition movement has not been quite so successful as some desire it to be, and now we see plain indications that individuals (for I cannot conscientiously call them gentlemen) asserting themselves to be champions of freedom, have resolved to carry into execution a scheme—an attempt to remove by any means whatever, all the slaves now within this District, so that those who have been in the habit of retaining slaves in their possession, will be discouraged from bringing others here; and that citizens who may hereafter settle here, will of course on the principle of obvious pecuniary policy, decline bringing such property with them; and that then, in this covert and insidious manner the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia may be accomplished.

The attempt to legislate directly upon this subject in the national councils is at war with the Constitution, repugnant to all principles of good faith, and in violation of all sentiments of patriotism. With whomsoever it originates, this movement, made directly or indirectly, within Congress or out of it, which has been so quietly denounced by my colleague, is simply a nefarious attempt to commit grand larceny upon the owners of slaves in this District. I undertake to say that there is not a man who has given his countenance to this transaction in any shape, who is not capable of committing grand larceny; or if he happened to be a hero, as such men are not, of perpetrating highway robbery on any of the roads of this Union. He is not a gentleman. He would not be countenanced by any respectable person anywhere. He is amenable to the law. I go farther, and I dare say my sentiments will meet the approbation of many even who do not live in slave States, and I maintain that when the arm of the law is too short to reach a criminal he may be justly punished by a sovereignty not known to law. Such proceedings have taken place, and there are circumstances which not only instigate, but justify such acts. I am informed upon evidence on which I rely, that this very movement, out of which the bill originates, has been instigated and sanctioned by persons in high station. It is even rumoured, and it is believed by many—I am sorry for the honour of this body to say so—that a Senator of the United States is concerned in the movement. Certain it is that a member of another body, not far distant meeting in a certain Hall, was yesterday morning engaged in certain reprehensible contrivances, and but for his abject flight from the place of his infamous intrigues, he would have been justly punished—not by the mob—but by high-spirited citizens convened for the purpose of vindicating their rights so unjustly assailed.

Why is it that this question is continually agitated in the Senate of the United States—that it is kept here as the subject of our perpetual discussion? Is it simply that gentleman wish to be popular at home? I suppose so. Is it because of their peculiar sympathies for that portion of the population which constitutes Slavery as recognized in the South? What is the motive? Is the object to attain popularity? Is it to gain high station? Is it to keep up local excitement in some portions of the North, with the view of obtaining political elevation as the reward of such factious conduct? But I care not for the motives of such acts. I undertake to say that in no country, in which the principles of honesty are respected, would such a motive as that now attempted be proposed, or even countenanced for a moment. I feel bound on this occasion to say that the bill proposed, could not have any good object. What does it declare? It declares that any attempt on the part of the people of this District, though the only means which they may have in their power, to protect their property, and prevent it from being taken from them either by stealth or open robbery, shall subject them to be mulcted in heavy pecuniary damages! It amounts then to this, that if hereafter any occurrence similar to that which has recently disgraced the District should happen, and the good people of the District should assemble and proceed to the vessel in which their property had been placed, and the Captain of which had become the agent in the nefarious transaction, and should then and there use the only means to prevent that vessel from sailing, and their property from being taken away before their eyes, they would be compelled to pay very heavy pecuniary damages. It is a bill, then, obviously intended to cover and protect negro-stealing. It is a bill for the encouragement and immunity of robbery. That is its true character, and whatever opinion the gentleman's own self-sufficiency may induce him to entertain of his own conduct on this occasion, I only tell him now the judgment which every honest man will pronounce upon it. If the object of the Senator was as I have described it, and is apparent on the face of the bill, he is as guilty as if he had committed highway robbery. I regret that I am obliged to use harsh terms, but they are true. The Senator from South Carolina asserted with great truth, that the time had come when the South should not only let her voice be heard, but disclose to all her enemies that she not only knows her rights, but "knowing, dare maintain them"—maintain them by all constitutional means—by all legal expedients—if necessary, by bloodshed. The Senator from New Hampshire is evidently attempting to get up a sort of a civil war in the country, and is evidently filled with a spirit of insurrection and incendiarism. He may bring about an event which will end in the spilling of human blood. I say to him, however, let him come forward boldly, and take the proper responsibility. Let him say, "Now I am ready to do battle in behalf of my friends, the blacks, the slaves of the District of Columbia." Let him buckle on his armour—let him unsheath his sword, and at once commence the contest, and I have no doubt he will have a fair opportunity of shedding his blood in this holy cause on the sacred soil of the District of Columbia. If he is really in earnest, he is bound, as a conscientious man, to pursue this course, which cannot be persevered in without these awful scenes of bloodshed and desolation long anticipated by good men in every part of this Republic. When, I ask, was it that Southern men ever undertook to invade the quiet and happiness of the North? I hope I may be pardoned in making the suggestion. I do not wish to insinuate any invidious comparisons. I thank Heaven I have an abiding confidence in the good sense, the virtuous patriotism, and regard for the rights of property, of my Northern brethren; and I believe that there are many of them, of both parties, who are perfectly sound on this question, and who will condemn the act of this morning. The South has been forbearing She has exercised more than complaisance—more than forbearance. But when, I ask, has any Southern man, occupying a seat in either Houses of Congress, attempted to interfere with any local interests in the North?

All must see that the course of the Senator from New Hampshire is calculated to embroil the Confederacy—to put in peril our free institutions—to jeopardize that Union which our forefathers established—and which every pure patriot throughout the country desires shall be perpetuated. Is he an enlightened friend of freedom, or even a judicious friend of those with whom he affects to sympathize, who adopts such a course? Who does not know that such men are practically the worst enemies of the slave? I do not beseech the gentleman to stop; but if he perseveres, he will awaken indignation everywhere, and it cannot be that enlightened men, who conscientiously belong to the faction at the North of which he is understood to be the head, can sanction or approve everything that he may do under the influence of excitement, in this body. I will close by saying, that if he really wishes glory, and to be regarded as the great liberator of the blacks—if he wishes to be particularly distinguished in this cause of emancipation, as it is called—let him, instead of remaining here in the Senate of the United States, or instead of secreting himself in some dark corner of New Hampshire, where he may possibly escape the just indignation of good men throughout the Republic—let him visit the good State of Mississippi in which I have the honour to reside, and no doubt he will be received with such shouts of joy as have rarely marked the reception of any individual in this day and generation. I invite him there, and will tell him beforehand, in all honesty, that he could not go ten miles into the interior before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest, with a rope around his neck, with the approbation of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that if necessary, I should myself assist in the operation.

Mr. *Hale*—I beg the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments; though I did not exactly anticipate this discussion, yet I do not regret it. Before I proceed farther, as the honourable Senator from Mississippi has said that it has been asserted, and he thinks on good authority that a Senator of the United States connived at this kidnapping of slaves, I ask him if he refers to me?

Mr. *Foote*—I did.

Mr. *Hale*—I take occasion, then, to say, that the statement that I have given the slightest countenance to the procedure is entirely without the least foundation in truth. I had nothing to do with the occurrence, directly or indirectly, and I demand of the honourable Senator to state the ground upon which he has made the allegation.

Mr. *Foote*—It has been stated to me, and I certainly believed it, and believing it I denounced it. I did not make the charge directly. My remarks were hypothetical. I am glad to hear the Senator say that he has had no connection with the movement, but whether he had or not, some of his brethren in the great cause in which he was engaged no doubt had much to do with it,

Mr. *Hale*—The sneer of the gentleman does not affect me. I recognize every member of the human family as a brother. Once for all, I utterly deny that either by counsel, by silence, or by speech, or in any way or manner, had any knowledge, cognizance, or suspicion of what was done or might be done, until I heard of this occurrence as other Senators have heard of it. And I challenge any one who entertains a different opinion to the proof, here, now, and forever. I go farther than that.

I never have counselled, advised, or aided in any way, and with my present impressions, I never shall counsel, advise, or aid in any way, any encroachment upon the Constitution in any of its provisions or compromises. If the Constitution be not broad enough for the protection that I claim, I will go without it. I trust that on this subject I have been sufficiently understood. I deny in general and particular, not only connivance, but all knowledge of any such movements.

Whilst I am up, let me call the attention of the Senate to the case of a man whom I am proud here and elsewhere to call my friend, the editor of the *National Era*. This gentleman, in a card published in the *National Intelligencer*, of this day declares:

A rumour having been circulated that the office of the *National Era* was concerned, directly or indirectly, in the recent attempt of a number of slaves to escape on the schooner Pearl, it is due to the respectable citizens of this place, and to myself, to give a plain, full, and unequivocal denial to the report. While determined to yield no right to menace or violence—a concession which no true-hearted American will be ungenerous enough to demand—I feel it to be my duty to do all I can to remove a serious misapprehension, calculated to provoke unpleasant excitement.

The position which he has taken is thus laid down in the first number of his paper, and he republishes it in his card:

"Believing that the extinction of slavery can be effected in accordance with the Constitution and law, and that this is the better way, no unconstitutional or illegal measures will find in us a supporter. We cannot work with contradictory means. Whenever convinced that such measures as the laws sanction or do not prohibit, are insufficient for the accomplishment of the great object we aim at, we shall frankly say so. The magnitude of the cause in which we are engaged, justice to our fellow-citizens of the South, and sound policy demand that no movement be made in relation to this important question, except with the utmost openness, frankness and fair-dealing.

The declaration I then made, embodied the principles upon which I had always uniformly acted in relation to Slavery; and in not a single instance have I, or any one in my office, as far as my knowledge extends, violated it. I cannot, consistently with my views of what honesty and fair-dealing dictate, to say nothing of sound policy, engage, or in any way, directly or indirectly, take part in any movement which would involve the necessity of strategy or trickery of any kind.

"My paper has been published sixteen months in this city. Its columns are open to inspection. Those who have taken the trouble to read it, will testify that I have counselled no measures repugnant to the foregoing; that I have abstained from invective and denunciation; and addressed myself to the reason, the conscience, the patriotism, and sense of honour of the slaveholders, many of them being near relatives and personal friends. Not one of my numerous exchanges in the South, how much-soever opposed to my views, has at any time imputed to me ill temper, or a clandestine policy.

"With this plain exposition of my course, it is hardly necessary for me to say, that, in the recent transaction which has excited so much feeling, neither myself nor any person connected with me had any share whatever, that the transaction, in fact, became known to me only through the general report.

"I write this to disabuse the public mind, so that those who do not personally know me, may not be imposed upon by any misapprehension of my position. Certainly, I feel a great repugnance to being assailed for what I have never done or dreamed of; but, if legal violence be inflicted upon me for writing and printing freely about Slavery, or any other subject which it may suit an American to discuss, then I will suffer cheerfully, in the confident hope that when passion and prejudice shall have been dispelled, justice will be done to my character.—But I will not suppose that those who are rejoicing in the enfranchisement of the Press in Paris, will put fetters upon the Press in Washington."

Mr. *Calhoun*.—(in his seat.)—Does he make any denunciation of the robbery?

Mr. *Hale*.—He had quite enough to do in defending himself, and it was no part of his duty to denounce others.

Mr. *Calhoun*, (in his seat.)—I understand that!

Mr. *Hale*—I appeal to the sense of justice of the Senate, and ask what justification there can be for assailing the character and property of a man who knew no more of this occurrence than any of its members? I appeal to the honourable Senator who spoke so eloquently of the high and chivalric ideas of right which are understood in this section of the country—

Mr. *Foote*—I ask the Senator—and I beg to remind him that twenty millions of people are listening to his answer—in the circumstances of the case, evidently known to him, does he suppose that this occurrence could have taken place without extensive countenance and aid from men of standing in this District, whether members of Congress, or others?

Mr. *Hale*—I have no doubt that those persons could not have got away without some aid. It is enough that I have disclaimed all knowledge of it. I thought that when the honourable Senator was speaking, more than twenty millions of people were listening. He invites me to visit the State of Mississippi, and kindly informs me that he would be one of those who would act the assassin, and put an end to my career. He would aid in bringing me to public execution—no, death by a mob. Well, in return for his hospitable invitation, I can only express the desire that he would penetrate into some of the dark corners of New Hampshire, and if he do, I am much mistaken if he would not find that the people in that benighted region would not be very happy to listen to his arguments, and engage in an intellectual conflict with him, in which the truth might be elicited. I think, however, that the announcement which the honourable Senator has made on this floor of the fate which awaits so humble an individual as myself in the State of Mississippi, must convince every one of the propriety of the high eulogium which he pronounced upon her the other day, when he spoke of the high position which she occupied among the States of this Confederacy. But enough of this personal matter.

I think, if I did not misunderstand the honourable Senator from South Carolina, that he is surprised at the temerity of the Senator from New Hampshire, in introducing this bill. Let me ask, what is the bill? What is this incendiary bill that has elicited such a torrent of invective? Has it been manufactured by some "fanatical Abolitionist?" Why, it is copied, almost word for word, from a law on the statute-book, which has been in operation for years, in the neighbouring State of Maryland. It has no allusion, directly or indirectly, to the subject of Slavery. Yet I am accused of throwing it, as a firebrand, and in order to make war upon the institutions of the South! How? In God's name has it come to this, that the American Senate, and in the year of grace, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, the rights of property cannot be named, but the advocates of Slavery are in arms, and exclaim that war is made upon their institutions, because it is attempted to cast the protection of the law over the property of an American citizen, who appeals to an American Senate!

It has long been held by you that your peculiar institution is incompatible with the right of speech; but if it be also incompatible with the safeguards of the Constitution being thrown around property of American citizens, let the country know it! If that is to be the principle of your action, let it be proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the land, that there is an institution so omnipotent—so almighty—that even the sacred rights of life and property must bow down before it!

Do not let it be said that I have introduced this subject. I have simply asked that the plainest provisions of common law—the clearest dictates of justice—shall be extended and exercised for the protection of the property of citizens of this District; and yet, the honourable Senator from South Carolina is shocked at my temerity.

Mr. *Butler*—Allow me to ask one question with perfect good temper. The Senate is discussing the subject with some feeling; but I ask him whether he would vote for a bill, properly drawn, inflicting punishment on persons inveigling slaves from the District of Columbia?

Mr. *Hale*—Certainly not, and why? Because I do not believe that Slavery should exist here.

Mr. *Calhoun*—(in his seat.)—He wishes to arm the robbers, and disarm the people of the District.

Mr. *Hale*—The honourable Senator is alarmed at my temerity,—

Mr. *Calhoun*—(in his seat.)—I did not use the word, but do not think it worth while to correct the Senator.

Mr. *Hale*—The Senator did not use the term?

Mr. *Calhoun*—No. I said it was brazen in the Senator, or something like that.

Mr. *Hale*—The meaning was the same. It was strange then that I should introduce a bill for the prohibition of property in this District—a bill perfectly harmless, but which was construed into an attack upon the South. I ask the Senator and the country wherein consists the temerity? I suppose in the section of the country from which it comes. He says we seem to think that the South has lost all feeling. Ah! There is the temerity. The bill comes from the wrong side of a certain boundary. Why did the honourable Senator from Carolina imagine that we of the North, with our faces bowed down to the earth, and our backs to the sun, had received the lash so long that we dared not look up? Did he suppose we dared not ask that the protection of the law be thrown around property in the District to which we came to legislate?

I desire no war upon the institution of Slavery in the sense in which the Senator understands the term. I will never be a party to any encroachments upon rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law—not at all. I wish no war, but a war of reason—of persuasion—of argument; a war that should look to convincing the understanding, subduing the affections, and moving the sympathies of the heart. That is the only war in which I would engage. But it is said that the time is come—that the crisis has come, and that the South must meet it. In all candour and honesty, then, let me say, that there could not be a better platform on which to meet the question, than that presented by the principles of this bill. There could not be a better occasion than this, to appeal to the country. Let the tocsin sound. Let the word go forth. Let the free North be told that her craven Representatives on the floor of the Senate, are not at liberty even to claim the protection of the rights of property!

The right of speech was sacrificed long ago. But now it is to be proclaimed that we cannot even introduce a bill looking to the execution of the plainest provisions of the Constitution, and the clearest principles of justice, for the protection of human rights, because gentlemen choose to construe it into an attack upon that particular institution?

I ask again, what is it that has produced this step, called up these denunciations, excited all this invective which has been poured out upon me as if I had been guilty of all the crimes in the decalogue? I call upon the Senate and the country to take notice of it. I ask, on what do gentlemen of the South rely for the protection of any institutions on which they place any value? It will be answered, upon the Constitution and the law. Well, then, if the safeguards of the Constitution are rendered inadequate to the protection of one species of property, how can it be supposed that there will be protection for any? It is because I desire to maintain in all their strength and ability, the safeguards of the Constitution, that I have introduced this bill for the protection of property in this District. And here let me tell the Senator from Alabama, that he will have my full co-operation in any measure to prevent kidnapping. I shall expect him to redeem his pledge. Again:—I am shocked to hear the honourable Senator denounce this bill as a measure calculated to repress those citizens from the expression of their just indignation.

Mr. *Calhoun*—If the Senator will allow me, I will explain. I said no such thing. But I will take the occasion to say, that I would just as soon argue with a maniac from bedlam, as with the Senator from New Hampshire, on this subject.

Several Senators—Order, order.

Mr. *Calhoun*—I do not intend to correct his statements. A man who says that the people of this District have no right in their slaves—and that it is no robbery to take their property from them—is not entitled to be regarded as in possession of his reason.

Mr. *Hale*—It is an extremely novel mode of determining a controversy by charitably throwing the mantle of maniacal irresponsibility over one's antagonist! But the honourable Senator puts words into my mouth which I never used. I did not say that the owners had no property in their slaves. I said that the institution exists, but I have not given any opinion upon the point to which the Senator alluded. I have never said anything from which the sentiment which he imputes to me could be inferred. It does not become me, I know, to measure arms with the honourable Senator from South Carolina, more particularly since he has been so magnanimous as to give notice that he will not condescend to argue with me. But there is more than one man in this country, who has, whether justly or unjustly, long since arrived at the conclusion, that if I am a maniac on the subject of Slavery, I am not a monomaniac, for I am not alone in my madness. But, Sir, I am not responsible here or elsewhere for the excitement that has followed the introduction of this subject. I intended simply to give notice of a bill calculated to meet the exigency. The honourable Senator from Florida calls upon me for proof of the necessity of this legislation, and says that no violence has been committed in this District. I do n't know what he calls violence.

Mr. *Westcott*—There has been no evidence, except the running away with some negroes.

Mr. *Hale*—Well, I believe that some hundreds of individuals assembled in front of a printing-office in this city, and assailed the building with missiles, obliging the persons engaged in their usual employment to abandon their legal occupation. If that does not come up to the gentleman's definition of violence, I do not know what does. I was desirous of introducing this subject without an appeal to any matters which might be supposed to lie behind. I believe that these matters have nothing to do with the subject under consideration. But other gentlemen have chosen to give this subject a different direction. Now, in the bill which I have had the honour to introduce, the provisions are almost identical with the law which has been in existence in many of the States, and is now on the statute-book of Maryland. To its enactment here, exception has been taken, and I am quite willing that the country should know the grounds on which opposition is made. If the subject be painful, it has not been made so by me. As to the threats which have been made of bloodshed and assassination, I can only say that there have been sacrifices already, and there may be other victims, until the minds of all shall be awakened to the conviction that the Constitution was made as well for the preservation of the freedom of discussion, as for the protection of the slave-owner.

Mr. *Westcott*—I should like to know of the Senator from New Hampshire if he can say, that any non-slaveholding State in this Union has passed a law by which, in case of the abduction of a slave by an abolition mob, the country or town is to be made responsible for the act?

Mr. *Hale*—I do not know, Sir.

Mr. *Westcott*—It is time enough, then, when such a law is passed to protect the property of slave-owners, to talk of a law to indemnify for the destruction of property of abolition incendiaries.

Mr. *Foote*—The Senator seems to suppose that I wished to decoy him to the State of Mississippi. I have attempted no such thing. I have thought of no such thing. I have openly challenged him to present himself there, or anywhere uttering such language and breathing such an incendiary spirit as he has manifested in this body, and I have said that just punishment would be inflicted upon him for his enormous criminality. I have said farther, that if necessary, I would aid in the infliction of that punishment. My opinion is, that enlightened men would sanction that punishment. But, says the Senator, that would be assassination! I think not. I am sure that the Senator is an enemy to the Constitution of his country—an enemy to one of the institutions of his country, which is solemnly guaranteed by the organic law of the land—and in so far, he is a lawless person. I am sure, if he would go to the State of Mississippi, or any other slave State of this Confederacy, and utter such language, he would justly be regarded as an incendiary in heart and in fact, and as such, guilty of an attempt to involve the South in bloodshed, violence, and desolation, and if the arm of the law happened to be too short, or the spirit of the law to be slumberous, I have declared that the duty of the people whose rights were thus put in danger would be, to inflict summary punishment upon the offender. But, says the Senator, victims have been made, and there are other victims ready. I am sure that he could not persuade me that he would ever be a victim. I have never deplored the death of such victims, and I never shall deplore it. Such officious intermeddling deserves its fate. I believe that no good man, who is not a maniac, as the Senator from New Hampshire is apprehended to be, can have any sympathy for those who lawlessly interfere with the rights of others. He, however, will never be a victim! He is one of those gusty disclaimers—a windy speaker—a——

Mr. *Crittenden*—If the gentleman will allow me I rise to a question of order. Gentlemen have evidently become excited, and I hear on all sides language that is not becoming. I call the gentleman to order for his personal reference to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. *Foote*—I only said in reply to the remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire——

Mr. *Crittenden*—I did not hear what the gentleman from New Hampshire said, but the allusion of the gentleman from Mississippi, I consider to be contrary to the rules of the Senate.

Mr. *Foote*—I am aware of that: but such a scene has never occurred in the Senate—such a deadly assailment of the rights of the country.

Mr. *Johnson*, of Md—Has the Chair decided?

Mr. *Foote*—Let my words be taken down.

The *Presiding Officer*—In the opinion of the Chair, the gentleman from Mississippi is not in order.

Mr. *Foote*—What portion of my remarks is not in order?

The *Presiding Officer*—The gentleman is aware that the question of order is not debateable.

Mr. *Westcott*—I ask whether the words objected to are not, according to the rule, to be reduced to writing?

Mr. *Foote*.—I pass it over. But the Senator from New Hampshire has said, that if I would visit that State, I would be treated to an argument. Why, I would not argue with him! What right have they of New Hampshire to argue upon the point? It is not a matter with which they stand in the least connected. They have no rights of property of this description, and I rejoice to be able to say, that a large proportion of the intelligent and patriotic people of New Hampshire do not concur in the views expressed by the Senator this morning. They take the ground that the people of the United States, the Constitution and the Union, have guaranteed the rights of the South, connected with this property, and that the people of New Hampshire have no right at all to meddle with the subject. Why, is it not a fact, that gentlemen, members of this body, among them the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, whom I regret not to see in his place, are known to be more or less hostile to the institutions of domestic slavery, but have never entertained the doctrine, that the Congress of the United States, has any jurisdiction whatever, over the subject? They have held that any attempt, directly or indirectly, to effect abolition or to encourage abolition by Congressional legislation is at war with the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

Mr. *Hale*.—Will the Senator allow me to inquire if he can point out a single instance, in which I have made any aggression upon the rights of property in the South.

Mr. *Foote*.—That is the very thing I am about to show. When the Senator from New Hampshire undertakes to assert that those Northern men who do not concur with him are 'cravens,' he uses language of false and scurrilous import. It is not the fact that his language will be re-echoed in any respectable neighbourhood in New England. His sentiments will find no response or approval in any enlightened vicinage in New England, and therefore, he has no right to say that those who are faithful to the principles of the Constitution and fail to re-echo the fierce, fanatical, and factious declarations of the Senator are 'cravens' in heart, and deficient in any of the noble sentiments which characterize high-spirited republicans.

Mr. *Hale*.—I did not use such language.

Mr. *Foote*.—Did the Senator not use the word 'craven?'

Mr. *Hale*.—If the Senator will allow me, I will inform him that when the Senator from South Carolina remarked that he supposed it was thought that the South had lost all feeling. I replied by asking if it was supposed that the North had no sensibility—that we had bowed our faces to the earth with our backs to the Sun, and submitted to the lash so long that we dare not look up?

Mr. *Foote*.—The declarations of the Senator from New Hampshire just amount to this, that if he met me on the highway and addressed me gravely or humorously—for he is quite a humorous personage—should say I design to take that horse which is now in your possession, and then announce that he wishes to enter into an argument with me as to whether I should prefer that the animal should be stolen from the stable or taken from me on the road. How could I meet such a proposition? Why, I should say to him, either you are a maniac, or, if sane, you are a knave. And yet this very case is now before us. The Senator from New Hampshire introduced a bill obviously intended to rob the people of the District of their slaves. I will read it and show that such is the import of the bill. I do not know anything about the paper to which reference has been made. It has been sent to me as to other Senators during the winter, but I always refrain from opening it. The editor of it may be an intelligent man. I have heard that he is. He is certainly an Abolitionist. It may be that he has not in his paper openly avowed, as the Senator from New Hampshire seems very plainly to indicate, that he has approved of this late attempt to steal the slaves from the District. But the publication of such a paper has tended to encourage such movements.

Mr. *Hale*.—When did I avow that I approved of this movement?

Mr. *Foote*.—I will show it from this bill. I challenge the Senator to produce any such statute from the statute book of any State of this Union.

Mr. *Hale*.—I have said that the bill is in substance identical with one of the statutes of the State of Maryland. I have that statute book before me and will hand it to the Senator.

Mr. *Johnson*, of Maryland.—Allow me to see it.

Mr. *Foote*.—How are we to understand the Senator? He will not acknowledge that his object is to encourage such conduct, and he shuns the responsibility. When we charge upon him that he himself has breathed in the course of his harrangue this morning the same spirit which has characterized this act, he says most mildly and quietly, 'By no means—I have only attempted to introduce a bill corresponding substantially with the law on the statute books of most of the States of this Confederacy.' And the Senator supposes that all of us are perfectly demented, or do not know the nature of the case, the circumstances, or the motives which have actuated the Senator. Will he undertake to assert, that he would ever have thought of such a bill if these slaves had not been abducted from the District, in opposition to the consent of their owners, by the parties engaged in this marauding expedition? He cannot deny it; and, therefore, I am authorized to come to the conclusion, that he introduced the bill for the purpose of covering and protecting the act, and encouraging similar acts in the future. What is the phraseology of the bill? (The honourable Senator here read the bill.) Who doubts now that the object of the Senator from New Hampshire was to secure the captains of vessels and others engaged in any attempts by violence to capture and steal the slaves of this District? No man can doubt it. Then, I ask, have I used language too harsh and is it not a fact that the Senator is endeavouring to evade a responsibility which he is not willing to acknowledge?

Mr. *Hale*.—Will the Senator give way for a moment. I will read an extract from the law of Maryland to which I referred. Will the Senator be good enough to look at my bill while I read?

An Act relating to Riots:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That, from the passage of this Act, if any county or incorporated town, or city of this State, any church, chapel, or convent, any dwelling-house, any house used or designed by any person, or any body politic, or corporate, as a place for the transaction of business, or deposit of property, any ship, ship yard, or lumber yard, any barn, stable, or other out-house, or any articles of personal property, shall be injured or destroyed, or if any property therein or thereon shall be taken away, injured, or destroyed, by any riotous or tumultuous assemblage of people, the full amount of the damage shall be recoverable by the sufferer or sufferers, by suit at law against the county, town, or city, within whose jurisdiction such riot or tumult occurred. [Provided, however, that no such liability shall be incurred by such county, incorporated town, or city, unless the authorities thereof shall have had good reason to believe that such riot or tumultuous assemblage was about to take place, or having taken place, should have had notice of the same, in time to prevent said injury or destruction, either by their own police or with the aid of the citizens of such county, town, or city; it being the intention of this act, that no such liability shall be devolved on such county, town, or city, unless the authorities thereof having notice, have also the ability of themselves, or with their own citizens, to prevent said injury: Provided, farther, that in no case shall indemnity be received where it shall be satisfactorily proved that the civil authorities thereof, have used all reasonable diligence, and all the powers entrusted to them for the prevention or suppression of such riotous or unlawful assemblies.

Section 2. *And be it enacted*, That in any suit instituted under this act, the plaintiff or plaintiffs may declare generally, and give the special matter in evidence.

The honourable Senator will surely now do me the justice to say, that the bill was not drafted with reference to any particular case, such as that to which he refers. I had not the remotest reference to the protection of individuals concerned in transactions of that character; but if I should undertake to say that I had no reference to demonstrations growing out of that transaction, I should be saying what was false, for it was these demonstrations which induced me to introduce the bill.

Mr. *Foote*—In one breath the Senator makes two directly contradictory assertions. He says he did not draw the bill in reference to the bill, and in the same breath, declares that he did! He disclaims in one moment that which he avows in the next! I am sorry that I have occupied the attention of the Senate so long. I have felt deeply on this subject. We have witnessed this morning the first attempt on this floor to violate the constitutional rights of the South, and I hope it will be the last. I trust that the indignation of the country will be so aroused, that even in the quarter of the country from which he comes, the Senator from New Hampshire, although his sensibilities are not very approachable, will be made to feel ashamed of his conduct.

Mr. *Mangum*—It is now about fourteen years, I believe, since the Senate very wisely, by the concurrence of the ablest and most distinguished men on both sides, came to the resolution to exclude discussion upon the inflaming topic of Slavery; and that when abolition petitions were presented, upon the question of reception, a motion should be entertained—which motion is not debatable—and the vote taken upon is, to lay the motion for reception upon the table. There has been, ever since this rule was established, a steady and uniform adherence to it, but I am sorry to perceive that there is latterly a disposition manifesting itself to depart from the salutary rule of action which the Senate thus wisely prescribed for itself. Upon this question of Slavery we know there are different opinions entertained in different quarters of the Union. I stand here representing the interests of one portion of that Union, but I could not if I would, bring myself to a state of excitement and alarm in consequence of any menaces that may be thrown out. I stand upon the Constitutional compromises; and while I would not invade the rights of others, I am very sure that the sound portion of the community will not invade our rights. Why should we pursue this discussion? Is it believed that we are to be reasoned out of our rights? Are we to be reasoned out of our convictions? No, Sir. Then why discuss the subject? Why not stand upon our rights; upon our Constitutional compromises? Why not stand thus perfectly passionless, but prepared to defend them when they shall be assailed? But are they to be assailed? Sir, nothing has occurred during this session that has afforded me more satisfaction than to hear from some of the ablest and most distinguished men in this Union, the declaration, that while they are opposed to an extension of the area of Slavery, they are not disposed to trample upon the compromises of the Constitution. This is our strength. It is to be found in the patriotism of those who love the institutions of our country better than party. I believe the great body of the people are prepared to stand upon the compromises of the Constitution. It is upon this ground that I stand content and passionless, and if I know myself I shall continue to do so. Sir, no good can result from this discussion. I shall vote against the reception of the bill at this time. And why? Because I think that the occasion which is selected for its introduction is a very unhappy one. It seems to grow out of the occurrence of an unwarrantable trespass, recently committed upon the rights of the citizens of this District, without being directed to the prevention of such aggressions in future, but on the contrary, having for its object the suppression of the manifestations of the feelings of indignation which such acts naturally create. We, who are the only legislators for the District of Columbia, are not informed of their wants and wishes in regard to legislation upon this subject. If the people of this District require any other laws than they already have, for the purpose of protecting their property against unlawful violence, let them indicate to us their wishes; and I shall be ready to lend a willing ear to their request, and to aid in passing such a law as in my judgment may be necessary for their protection. If on the other hand, the citizens of this District, should require other and more penal laws for the purpose of protecting their slave property, I shall be as ready to vote for a bill for that purpose. But I shall never vote for the one nor the other, when I find them pressed forward by gentlemen of extreme opinions—gentlemen from remote portions of the Union, having few feelings in common with the citizens of the District. Sir, upon these subjects I am accustomed to look to the silent operation of the law for the protection of all our rights. In the State from which I came there is no excitement in regard to these subjects. If I know anything of the character of that loyal, steady, fixed, and moderate State, there is no State in the Union which will hold to her principles and her rights with more firmness than that State. But we appeal to the silent operation of the law we know nothing of mob-law, or of Lynch-law; we know nothing of excesses of this description. Although I have lived to be an old man, most of the time in North Carolina, I have never seen anything in that State approximating even to a spirit of popular tumult.

Mr. *Foote*—Will the Hon. Senator allow me to ask him whether, in the case of a conspiracy to excite insurrection among the slaves, it would not in his opinion justify mob proceedings?

Mr. *Mangum*—Oh! my dear Sir, in former years we had a compendious mode of disposing of such cases. We have now a mode equally certain, though not so compendious. Upon a matter of that nature we take a strong ground. But I am not driven hastily into legislation that is proposed by gentlemen who entertain extreme opinions on either side.

* * * * * * *

Mr. *Douglas*—I have listened to this debate with a good deal of interest. But while I have seen considerable excitement exhibited on the part of a few gentlemen around me, I confess that I have not been able to work myself into anything like a passion. I think that probably the Senator from New Hampshire has done much to accomplish his object. His bill is a very harmless thing in itself; but being brought forward at this time and under the present circumstances, it has created a good deal of excitement among gentlemen on this side of the chamber.

Mr. *Calhoun*, (in his seat.)—Not the bill—the occurrence.

Mr. *Douglas*—On this occurrence I desire to say a word. In the first place, I must congratulate the Senator from New Hampshire on the great triumph he has achieved. He stands very prominently before the American people, and is, I believe, the only man who has a national nomination for the Presidency. I firmly believe that on this floor to-day, by the aid of the Senator from South Carolina, and the Senators from Mississippi, he has more than doubled his vote at the Presidential election, and every man in this Chamber from a free State knows it! I looked on with amazement for a time, to see whether there could be an understanding between the Senator from New Hampshire and his Southern friends, calculated to give him encouragement, strength, and power, in the contest. But I know that those distinguished Senators from the South, to whom I have referred, are incapable of such an undertaking, yet I tell them if they had gone into a caucus with the Senator from New Hampshire, and after a night's study and deliberation, had devised the best means to manufacture abolitionism and abolition votes in the North, they would have fallen upon precisely the same kind of procedure which they have adopted today. A few such exciting scenes sufficed to send that Senator here. I mean no disrespect to him personally, but I say with his sentiments, with his principles, he could never have represented a free State of this Union on this floor, but for the aid of Southern speeches. It is the speeches of Southern men, representing slave States going to an extreme; breathing a fanaticism as wild and as reckless as that of the Senator from New Hampshire, which creates abolitionism in the North. The extremes meet. It is no other than Southern Senators acting in concert, and yet without design, that produces abolition.

Mr. *Calhoun*—Does the gentleman pretend to say that myself and Southern gentlemen who act with me upon this occasion are fanatics? Have we done anything more than defend our rights, encroached upon at the North? Am I to understand the Senator that we make

abolition votes by defending our rights? If so, I thank him for the information, and do not care how many such votes we make.

Mr. *Douglas*—Well I will say to the Senator from South Carolina and every other Senator from the South that far be it from me to entertain the thought, that they design to create Abolitionists in the North or elsewhere. Far be it from me to impute any such design! Yet I assert that such is the only inevitable effect of their conduct.

Mr. *Calhoun*—(in his seat).—We are only defending ourselves.

Mr. *Douglas*—No, they are not defending themselves! They suffer themselves to become excited upon this question—to discuss it with a degree of heat, and give it an importance, which makes it heard and felt throughout the Union. It is thus that abolition derives its vitality. My friend from Mississippi (Mr. Foote), in his zeal and excitement this morning, made a remark in the invitation he extended to the Senator from New Hampshire to visit Mississippi, which is worth ten thousand votes to the Senator, and I am confident the Senator would not allow my friend to retract that remark for ten thousand votes!

Mr. *Foote*—Will you allow me?

Mr. *Douglas*—Certainly.

Mr. *Foote*—If the effect of that remark will be to give to that Senator all the abolition votes he is fairly entitled to them. Had the Senator from Illinois lived where I have resided—had he seen insurrection exhibiting its fiery front in the midst of the men, women and children of the community—had he had reason to believe that the machinery of insurrection was at such time in readiness for purposes of the most deadly character, involving life, and that dearer than life, to every Southern man—had he witnessed such scenes, and believed that movements like that of this morning were calculated to engender feelings out of which are to arise fire, blood, and desolation, the destruction finally of the South, he would regard himself as a traitor to the best sentiments of the human heart, if he did not speak out the language of manly denunciation. I can use no other language. I cannot but repeat my conviction that any man who dares to utter such sentiments as those of the Senator from New Hampshire, and attempts to act them out anywhere in the sunny South, will meet death upon the scaffold, and deserves it!

Mr. *Douglas*—I must again congratulate the Senator from New Hampshire on the accession of five thousand votes! Sir, I do not blame the Senator from Mississippi for being indignant at any man, from any portion of this Union, who would produce an incendiary excitement, who would kindle the flame of cival war, who would incite a negro insurrection hazarding the life of any man in the Southern States. The Senator has, I am aware reason to feel deeply on this subject. But I am not altogether unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the sections of the country to which he has alluded. I have lived a good portion of my life upon the immediate borders of a slave State. I have seen the operation of such excitements as those of which he speaks upon both sides of the line. I can well appreciate the excited feeling with which gentlemen in the South must regard any agitating movement to get up insurrections among their negro servants.

Mr. *Davis*, of Mississippi—I do not wish to be considered as participating in the feeling to which the Senator alludes. I have no fear of insurrection, no more than I have of my cattle. I do not dread such incendiaries.—Our slaves are happy and contented. They sustain the happiest relation that labour can sustain to capital. It is a paternal institution. They are rendered miserable only by the unwarrantable interference of those who know nothing about that with which they meddle. I rest this ease in no fear of insurrection; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that we are able to take care of ourselves and to punish all incendiaries. It was the insult offered the institutions which we have inherited that provoked my indignation.

Mr. *Foote*—Will the Honourable Senator allow me to make a remark?

Mr. *Douglas*—With a great deal of pleasure.

Mr. *Foote*—If it be understood that I expressed any fear of insurrection which might grow out of this movement it is a mistake I said that such an audacious movement as this could not be tamely submitted to without encouraging its authors to proceed; and in that I think, all who have spoken on this side of the Chamber concur.

Mr. *Davis*, of Mississippi—I did not intend to imply that my colleague had taken any such course as that which I disclaimed.

Mr. *Douglas*—All that I intended to say was that the effect of this excitement—of all these harsh expressions—will be the creation of Abolitionists at the North.

Mr. *Foote*—The more the better!

Mr. *Douglas*—The gentleman may think so; but some of us at the North do not concur with him in that opinion. Of course the Senator from New Hampshire will agree with me, because he can fan the flame of excitement, so as to advance his political prospects. And I can also well understand how some gentlemen at the South may quite complacently regard all this excitement, if they can persuade their constituents to believe that the institution of Slavery rests upon their shoulders—that they are the men who meet the Goliath of the North in this great contest about abolition. It gives them strength at home, but we, of the North, who have no sympathy with Abolitionists, desire no such excitements.

Mr. *Calhoun*—I must really object to the remarks of the Senator. We are merely defending our rights. Suppose that we defend them in strong language; have we not a right to do so? Surely the Senator cannot mean to impute to us the motives of low ambition. He cannot realize our position. For myself, (and I presume I may speak for those who act with me,) we place this question upon high and exalted grounds. Long as he may have lived in the neighbourhood of slaveholding States, he cannot have realized anything on the subject. I must object entirely to his course, and say that it is at least as offensive as that of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. *Davis*, of Massachusetts—I wish, before the vote is taken, to say a word or two for the purpose of placing myself right with regard to this matter. I am not very apt to be carried away by any of the excitements that sometimes have existence in this Chamber, and I cannot say, at this moment, that I participate at all in the excitement which seems to exist in the minds of many gentlemen here.—What is the question that is presented for this body to decide? A stranger coming into this Chamber would suppose that we had some measure under consideration which concerned the deepest interests of Slavery—that we were about to pass judgment upon some question affecting that great interest—that we were about to legislate upon the subject in some way that would affect it in a manner injurious to the rights of those who own property of this description. Now, I think whoever has listened to the reading of this bill, must be atisified that there is no such thing contained in it. If I understand it, it proposes nothing which has any special reference under any construction that can be given to it, to that particular description of property. We have laws which make municipal corporations liable for damage resulting from violence done to property by popular tumults, where such corporation is remiss in its duty in enforcing order and obedience to the law. If I understand the proposition of the Honourable Senator from New Hampshire, he intends nothing more than to give security to property. He proposes nothing beyond this. This is the whole matter under consideration. But gentlemen say this is an unpropitious moment to introduce a question of this sort; and why unpropitious?—Because, if I understand them rightly—and I learn the fact for the first time—a mob has assailed the office of a newspaper in this city, and has rendered it uninhabitable. Well, how does this connect itself with the question of Slavery? Why, it is said that from this office a newspaper issues which is called an abolition paper. Suppose all this to be true, it is added by the Senator from New Hampshire that this paper is conducted in a temperate manner, that it employs temperate language, addressing itself to the reason and the understanding of the public; and that no complaint has been made against it by the public. Well, how far this mobocratic spirit is to be attributed to another event which has happened in this District, is not for me to say. Some gentlemen seem to suppose that it has some connection with it. If it has, I am unable to see it. The Senator from New Hampshire, then introduces a measure, and proposes to make the corporation liable for the damages committed, in case they refuse to do their duty, and enforce the law. Well, such a law exists in many of the States. But it is said this is a very peculiar state of things. Here was an abolition press at work in this building. Let me ask gentlemen whether they propose to stop the operations of the press; whether, in other words, they propose to take away from it its freedom? It seems to me that we might learn a lesson, if we would, from what is going on, on the other side of the Atlantic. The agitation of this question alone—the freedom of the press—has overthrown many of the thrones of Europe.

Do you not propose by measures of violence, or by any other mode, to put an end to the discussion of the subject, either by speeches or through the medium of the press? Whoever undertakes a work of this description has got an herculean task upon his hands—a task which he will find himself wholly incompetent to accomplish. Well, why is it that the Senate flies in the face of this measure, and objects to its reception? And I put it to the calm consideration of the Senator from South Carolina, and those who think with him, whether the inference I have made will not be made throughout the country; and whether it will not be considered everywhere an assault upon the liberty of the press, and of speech—whether it will not be irresistible, and whether it will not make a lasting impression upon the public mind. I think the people will reason in this way upon the subject, and that they will hold out to us, as the duty of this body, to take the subject into consideration. Send it to a committee, let it be examined, and not presumed, as the honourable Senator from South Carolina does, that because its provisions do not cover the whole subject, it cannot be made to cover the whole. If it does not answer the views of the gentleman, it can be made to do so. Then why fly in its face? Why take this very unusual course of refusing to receive the measure at all? Why, simply because, by construction and inference, it is supposed to have some connection with the question of Slavery. Now, is this wise—is it prudent? Does it best accomplish the object which gentlemen have in view, which is to protect this kind of property? I have ever been one of that class of persons who have at all times considered themselves bound by the terms of the Constitution on this subject, and have stood ready to support the guarantees contained in that instrument. But, at the same time, I must confess that I thought the honourable Senator from Illinois, in the remarks which he made here, uttered a great deal of wholesome truth. I thought he administered some wise and prudent and salutary admonition in those remarks, worthy of the consideration of all parties here; and I hope they will have their effect. I hope a little reflection—a little consideration—will induce gentlemen to change the course they have adopted on this subject, and to permit this measure to take the usual course of legislation. Suppose we do come to a discussion on the question, where, let me ask gentlemen, is the harm of discussion? Why, gentlemen ask what right have you to discuss our rights of property in slaves? By what authority do you claim the privilege of inquiring into this matter? Sir, we may have no right to disturb this right of property; we may have no right to affect the title to it in any way; no such rights may be claimed. Nevertheless, no one will deny to any citizen the right to discuss the character of property of this kind, and the effect which laws have upon such property. Who denies this right and where is it deemed? It belongs to freedom of discussion, to the freedom of speculation which exists in every free untramelled mind. Men may advance very absurd notions; they may reason very preposterously, they may reach very absurd conclusions, but while the whole matter lies in discussion very little, in my judgment, is gained by terming that discussion incendiary in its character. Why do you expect to satisfy the public mind when mankind discusses the question of slavery, however important it may be to any portion of this country, and express their opinions in regard to it. Do you expect to put them under foot by saying it is incendiary? If any gentleman flatter himself with hopes and expectations of this description, he is doomed to be disappointed. This discussion will go on, and the way to meet error is by confronting it with truth. Let the discussion go on; let it be free everywhere. My own opinion is, that all considerate minds here and everywhere are entirely disposed to adhere to the guaranties and compromises of the Constitution, and instead of being weakened by discussion, they are at every step strengthened; they at every step become firmer and stronger bonds of union. Let no one try, if they can, to suppress discussion. Every attempt to stop it will result, as in Europe, in one general sentiment, which will trample under foot the power that attempts to suppress it. This will be the effect of such attempts. I invite then, my friends, to meet this question, boldly, fearlessly, and not let this subject go to the public in the form which it now presents itself—as a bill presented here—relating to nothing but the protection of property against the violence of a mob, and denied admission to this hall and that table, because supposed to have some indirect connection with the question of slavery. Let us take, Sir, a more manly view of the subject—one that accords better with the character of high-minded men. Let it take its course here. Let it go to a committee; let that committee examine it, and if it does not, from any cause, meet your approbation when it comes to be considered, then let other measures take its place—let it take its fate. But nothing, Sir, is to be gained by this unusual course. I assure the gentlemen who represent the slave interest, that instead of gaining, they lose much, very much.

Why, Mr. President, cannot every gentleman see, and see plainly, that when the bill comes to be published, when the terms in which it is conceived come to be read and understood, it will be seen that it is a measure differing in no essential material point from laws existing in many of the free States and free countries everywhere—and as a Senator near me says in some of the slave States—making corporations under certain circumstances liable for the violence of mobs? And whoever takes the ground that this bill has been brought in at an unpropitious moment, and for that reason denies it admission, assumes a responsibility that he will sincerely wish by and by to get rid of. What have we to do with the present movement, Sir—with the particular and peculiar circumstances which surround the question? In my judgment, nothing at all. I do not undertake to say what the motives were of the Senator from New Hampshire, in introducing this bill; it does not become me to inquire into them. It is enough for me to know that if the printing office of The Union, or National Intelligencer were assailed and injured by a mob, that it would be my duty to inquire how it happened, and whether farther provisions were required in addition to the present laws of the District, in order to suppress such disturbances. The care and deliberation, I should feel myself bound, under such circumstances, to exercise with regard to the property of others, I should exercise in this case. The same measure of justice I should mete out in other cases, I would mete out in this. The protection which I would feel it my duty to give to the property of others, under all circumstances, I would give in this case. And if it turns out that this care is unworthily bestowed, that it does not demand legislation, then let it take its destiny. But this is not the way to deal with it. It does not, in my judgment, have the sanction of deliberation. I have always been of the opinion that nothing has been gained by the opposition to the introduction of petitions here. I believe if the subject had been left open, and we had been allowed to go into the consideration of the subject, gentlemen would have found less excitement existing than has been created by the opposite course.—It would have tended much more strongly, in my judgment, to tranquilize and harmonize the public mind. Under all the circumstances, then, how are we to act? I think the question is a very plain one. Things are brought in and made to bear strongly on the minds of gentlemen which do not belong to this question at all. I shall vote for the reception of the bill, in order that it may take the usual course of legislation.

Mr. *Crittenden*—What is the motion pending?

The *Presiding Officer*—The Senator from Pennsylvania made a motion to adjourn, but gave way to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. *Crittenden*—I intend to renew that motion. I think after the excitement we have all witnessed to-day, we will be better prepared to decide with the deliberation which usually marks the proceedings of this body, at a future session. I move, therefore, that we now adjourn.

Mr. *Benton*—Will the gentleman withdraw the motion for a moment? I move that the paper be printed.

Ordered, That the bill be printed for the use of the Senate.

Mr. *Johnson*, of Maryland, then gave notice, that should the Senator from New Hampshire have leave to introduce his bill, he would move the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee to whom was referred the "Bill relating to riots and unlawful assemblies in the District of Columbia," be, and they are hereby, instructed to amend the said bill by inserting a section in the same for the effectual protection, by penal provisions or otherwise, of the citizens of this District, and other citizens of the United States, in the undisturbed possession and ownership of their property in slaves in such District.

On motion, the Senate then adjourned.

☞ We are much indebted to Hon. JOHN P. HALE for a copy of the message of the President, communicating a Report from the Secretary of State, with the Correspondence of Mr. Wise, late U. S. Minister to Brazil in relation to the Slave Trade.

We are indebted to the Hon. D. P. King, for a copy of the Speech of Mr. Root, of Ohio, on the Message of the President, transmitting the Documents in relation to the return of Santa Anna and Paredes to Mexico.

The Standard—New Arrangement.

The Standard, for the ensuing volume, will continue under the charge of its present editor, with the assistance of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, as Corresponding Editor.

Mr. Lowell's contributions will be weekly, and over his own initials.

EDMUND QUINCY, whose letters from Boston, are already known to, and appreciated by our readers, will continue our regular *Boston Correspondent*. A letter from him will be published every fortnight.

Our Dublin Correspondent, R. D. WEBB, will keep us informed of the condition of Ireland, and the state of Europe generally, as heretofore by regular communications, twice each month.

We have the promise, also, of occasional letters from two well-known friends of the cause, who will leave this country on the 1st of June, for Europe.

With such a list of *regular contributors* to its columns, in addition to those who favour us with occasional communications, we are confident that the Standard will be worthy of, and we trust will receive, the hearty support of every friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We are certainly speaking within bounds, when we say, that no volume, since its establishment, has been commenced under more favourable auspices. The engagement of Mr. Lowell, whose reputation as a poet, and a reviewer, is second to no other in this country, we esteem as a most fortunate one for the paper and the cause which it advocates. And it is not improper to say here, that the frequent quotations which are made from the letters of our Boston and Dublin correspondents, are the best proof of the esteem in which they are held by our contemporaries of the Press.

Two years since the price of the Standard was put at $1 *per annum*, in the hope of an increased circulation. The success of the experiment has not been such as to justify, in the opinion of the Committee, the continuation of these terms, in view of the increased expenditure involved in the new arrangement. The subscription-price, therefore, will be raised, at the commencement of the new volume, to its former rate of *Two Dollars per annum*, payable in advance. The new arrangement commences immediately, but the price will not be raised till the 1st of June. All subscribers who have *already* paid in advance for the next volume, will receive the paper, till the close of their year at the old price. All whose year commences *before* the close of the present volume, and who pay before the change is made, will receive the paper to the close of *their* year, at $1 *per annum*. But all who do not pay before the 1st of June, whose subscription commences at that time, and have not already paid, will pay the new price of $2 *per annum*.

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! ☜

FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will be held in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, NEW YORK, on TUESDAY, THE NINTH DAY OF MAY, at ten o'clock, A. M.

The present aspect of public affairs in this country, should make this meeting one of more than usual importance and interest. The Southern boundary of AMERICAN SLAVERY, which, since this Society was formed, has been removed from the SABINE to the NUECES, it is now proposed by its guardians to remove still farther into the free territory of a sister Republic. We have little reason to expect a more favourable termination to the two years' war waged, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, for the sole purpose of extending the worst system of human bondage by conquest. Whether ABOLITIONISTS of the country can arrest the perpetration of this STUPENDOUS NATIONAL CRIME, or not, it is no less their duty to make the effort. The last PUBLIC PROTEST they may have the opportunity to record against it, should be earnest and unanimous.

The necessity of the moment should also remind us of how much of the work is still to be done, which this Society, fourteen years ago resolved to do. Since its formation, Slavery has not been abolished in a single State of the Union. A MILLION more of our countrymen have been born to the lot of slaves. But that this Society and its auxiliaries, have aroused, to a certain degree, a universal Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and have made the topic one of absorbing interest throughout the country, is the best evidence of the wisdom of their measures, and should be the strongest incentive to still more strenuous self-denying toil.

The old and tried friends of the cause, and those who have been but recently aroused to the necessity of the overthrow of the felon system of AMERICAN SLAVERY are urged to make of this meeting a GRAND RALLY FOR FREEDOM.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Pres't.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, S. H. GAY, } Secretaries.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. XXVIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*Eulogy on Mr. Adams, in Faneuil Hall.—More Company than Chairs.—Processions, parties, and snakes.—How this one prospered.—Collective Wisdom compactly collected together.—The Correspondent shudders, and why.—Nursing Fathers, the Millennium, Kings, Cats, and Churches.—The Governor, the Handel and Haydns, and Mr. Horn.—President Everett's Discourse.—Anonymous Sympathy in Tremont Temple.—Fathers and God—Fathers to seek.—Mrs. Folsom and Mr. Mellen.—Mr. Channing and others.—The Address and Resolutions.—Skilful treatment of the French Anti-Slavery heresy.—Indorsers sought to give currency to the Meeting.—Of no use.—Capital wanting for an issue of sympathy.—Only genuine sympathizers.—Tragedies, Farces, and Melodramas.—Black Corneliana.—Ghostly Fun.—Underlying Tragedy.—Mistake of Northern M. C.'s on the Free Colour Question.—Hits of South tell, and why.—True Answer.—The Retort Matrimonial.—Unanswerable Logic.—Retort of George Blake.—The Corresponding Editor.—The Correspondent Sympathizeth with the North American Review.—Rev. Mr. Wilbur and his Lambs.—The Hopes of the Correspondent in the premises, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, April 21, 1848.

I suppose my account of Mr. Adams's funeral, in my penultimate, will hardly be complete without saying something of the Eulogy before the General Court, by President Everett. This was delivered last Saturday in Faneuil Hall, whose inky doublet and suit of woe I told you of in my last letter. The procession collected in the State House and its vicinity, and if it did not "blacken *all* the way," as it wound through the streets, it certainly did a good deal of it. It was more than an hour performing its journey, and when it reached its destination, it was found that there was rather too much company invited for the chairs. Those towards the head of the procession got well in,—or, rather, could not well help it; for it is with processions, as Palteney said it is with parties, when he refused to form a ministry on condition of not impeaching Sir Robert Walpole, that "they are like snakes, the *head* always carried forward by the *tail*."

The tail, in this case, did its best to wriggle itself in after the head, and there was a good deal of confusion and a little alarm once or twice, from the pressure of the crowd trying to get in when there was no place to get into. It ended, however, in the house being packed as closely as it could be, the aisles filled, and even (I shudder as I tell!) the sacred settees devoted to the Collective Wisdom invaded and the interstices filled up. Some of the Conscript Fathers might even be seen enacting the part of "nursing fathers," (such as we are told Kings are to be to the Church in the Millennium,—only it must come soon and look sharp, as Punch says a *cat* must in the young man, and, with tears in its eyes, exhorted him to beware of the evil courses and bad company to which he seemed inclined. I am afraid this step will be but too decisive of his being given over to a reprobate mind. I trust that you may be able, through his influence, to add to the number of your correspondents, the truly excellent Homer Wilbur, Master of Arts, and his incomparable parishioners, Ezekiel Biglow, and Hosea, his son. I hope that prophetic youth will make you the organ of his future vaticinations. Poor Philip Lewis!—It was in vain that he "hid his crown under an old shirt in his bureau," and that he

"Sneaked down stairs to bolt the front door of the *Toolseries!*"

D. Y.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: To Maria Weston Chapman; The Fire of Drift Wood. *Miscellany*: Tamango, (*concluded*;) Lady Stanhope's Prediction; Alcohol a Prisoner at the Bar; Slavery in New Hampshire; The Young Idolator; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

FIRST PAGE.—*The Peculiar Institution*: Slave Pens; Mount Vernon; Ashamed of their Work. *Selections*: Sketch of Wm. H. Channing's Speech at the Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Boston; The Mob at Washington; Capture of Runaway Slaves; Disturbance; Extract from a letter upon the South; Congress.

Died.

In this city, on the 20th instant, of consumption HENRY RICHARDS CRUMMELL, son of Boston Crummell, aged 26 years.

In Boston, on the 20th inst. ELIZABETH PEASE, youngest child of Wm. Lloyd, and Helen E. Garrison.

At Preston, (Ct.) on the 17th instant, after a week's illness, Hon. DAVID BALDWIN, Senator elect of the Eighth District, aged 40.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Fourteen Days Later from Europe—Arrival of the Sarah Sands, and the Acadia.

The steamship *Sarah Sands*, which sailed from Liverpool on the 3d instant, arrived at this port on Friday last, with nine days later news from Europe. The *Acadia* which sailed from Liverpool on the 8th, arrived at Boston on Sunday evening, with five days later news than that brought by the *Sarah Sands*. The news is of interest and importance, but our limits will only permit us to give an abstract of it, which, however, embraces everything of moment that has transpired since the last arrival.

FRANCE.—Paris was quiet. At Lyons there had been a collision between the workingmen and the people, but tranquillity had been restored. The election is postponed to 23d of April, and the meeting of the National Assembly to the 4th of May. The election of the officers of the National Guard terminated in favour of the republican candidates.

Deputations of Poles, of Italians, and of Irish have waited upon and addressed the Provisional Government. Replies were made to each by Lamartine, who expressed the sympathy of France for the oppressed and wronged everywhere, but declined emphatically any interference in the affairs of other nations, which should involve her, in any way, in difficulty with other Governments. Her mission is peace, and reformation at home. To the remonstrances of the diplomatic agents of Belgium, Prussia, and Austria, Lamartine declared that the French Government had no intention of interfering against those Governments, but that it could not deprive their subjects, in Paris, of the liberty of freely expressing their sentiments,

A French army of observation is being stationed on the Italian frontier, from the Mediterranean to Switzerland.

The Provisional Government has decreed: That a residence of five years entitles to naturalization: That a tax shall be assessed on the consumption, instead of importation of wines, spirits, &c: That the Bank of France be authorized to discount bills with names of two parties only, with collateral security; and that the Banks of Lyons, Rowen, Bordeaux, Nantes, Lille, Havre, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Orleans, to suspend cash payments. An additional delay of fifteen days was granted for the payment of bills of exchange.

PRUSSIA.—The Revolution in Berlin has had, and promises to have, most important results. Clubs and associations of the people are everywhere formed, and a Congress is demanded to found one great Federative Empire, imbued with the Republican spirit, and resting entirely upon liberal institutions. Cities and assemblies demand popular rights, and the King is disposed to grant all that is required of him.

DENMARK.—On the 18th of March the Duchy of Holstein, and the Duchy of Schleswig, declared themselves independent of Denmark, and united as one State. They expressed their determination to join the Germanic League; and the King of Prussia has issued a proclamation recognizing the independence of the new State.

POLAND.—Great agitation exists throughout Poland.—Prince Adam Czartoryski, and other leaders of the last Polish Revolution, were received with enthusiasm at Cologne, on their way to Poland, and with open arms by the Prussian army.

BAVARIA.—King Louis has abdicated in favour of his son, who ascends the throne with the most profuse promises.

RUSSIA.—The Emperor has issued a proclamation, calling upon his people to rally in defence of their sovereign and their country, against the spirit of insurrection and anarchy. In the meantime he has assembled an army of 30,000 on the frontier of Galicia, near Cracow; 50,000 are stationed in Russian Poland; and a garrison of 20,000 in Warsaw. War between Russia and Germany is considered inevitable.

ITALY.—Milan has revolutionized, and, after a hard struggle, driven the Austrians from the city, Modena, Padua, Mantua, followed the example, and the Italian Dukedom is free from the Austrian yoke. Venice has also risen, but at the latest accounts nothing was decided.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.—In Ireland the utmost excitement exists. The most inflammatory language is used by the speakers at repeal meetings, and in the newspapers. The people are said to be everywhere arming, and clubs are formed for practice in rifle-shooting.—The Government is taking every precaution against an outbreak, and additional troops were pouring into the country. On the other hand, the people are evidently preparing for revolution.

A detatchment of troops has also been sent to Scotland in consequence of the recent disturbances in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The great Chartist demonstration, which was to take place on the 10th inst. in London, on the occasion of presenting a petition for the redress of grievances, by a grand procession to Parliament, has been forbidden by Government. The greatest indignation was aroused among the Chartists, who have resolved that the procession shall take place as at first proposed. Each man is recommended to arm himself with a baton. Troops are ordered to be in readiness to quell any tumult that may arise, and it is by no means improbable that the result would be bloodshed. The Chartists, in their meetings, do not hesitate to avow the most revolutionary sentiments, in the most violent language.

NOTICES.

ANTI-CAPITAL-PUNISHMENT MEETING.

The anniversary meeting of the New York State Society for the abolition of capital punishment will be held in New York city, on Monday evening, the 8th of May, at half past 7 o'clock, p. m. Wendell Phillips, Esq. Prof. Patterson, M. D. Park Godwin, Esq. Rev. Mr. Chapin, and other eminent speakers will address the meeting.

WM. T. McCOUN, President.
JOSIAH HOPPER, Sec.

For Sale at this Office.

Letter to the People of the United States, touching the Matter of Slavery. By Theodore Parker.—pp. 120. Price, 18 3-4 cents.

Wm. W. Brown's Lecture before the Female A. S. Society of Salem, Mass. Reported by H. M. Parkhurst, Boston. pp. 22. Price 5 cents.

New Goods,
AT THE
FREE PRODUCE STORE,
JUST RECEIVED.

GENERAL REDUCTION IN PRICES.

Fine 4-4 Prints, various, styles.
New styles of Prints of medium quality, usual width.
Fine and wide Paper Muslins. Also Coloured Cambrics.
Curtain Calico. Superior fine Chintz Umbrellas. Oil Cloths.
Satinets, good and cheap. Also on hand, mostly at reduced prices, Ginghams, various qualities and styles.
Fine and heavy Shirting, Sheeting, and Pillow Muslins.
Striped Cambrics. Fine 6-4 Plaid Muslin.
Muslin de Lain, plain and neatly figured, all wool.
Linens, warranted free from cotton.
Flannels 4-4 good and price low. Canton flannels, white and coloured.
Table Diaper and Cloths, of different styles.
Apron and Furniture Check. Cotton Handkerchiefs.
Cotton Twilled Pantaloon Stuffs. Also Linen Drilling, &c.
Long and Half Hose, fine and heavy.
Knitting Cotton, various Nos. bleached, brown, and coloured.
Wadding, white and coloured Cotton Laps. Also, Refined Loaf, Crushed and Pulverized Sugar.
Brown Sugar, good quality, of various grades.

The whole stock exclusively FREE LABOUR GOODS, to which the subscriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as well as his friends and the public generally.

Much pains are taken by the Managers of the Free Produce Association, to assist the subscriber to enlarge the assortment from time to time.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
Northwest corner Fifth and Cherry sts.
Philadelphia, 2d mo. 1st, 1848.—1y.*

British Periodical Literature.

Subscribe early while the terms are low!!

REPUBLICATION OF
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW,
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW,
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW,
AND
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

The above Periodicals are reprinted in New York, immediately on their arrival by the British steamers, in a beautiful clear type, on fine white paper, and are faithful copies of the originals, BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, being an exact *fac-simile* of the Edinburgh edition.

They embrace the views of the three great parties in England—Tory, Whig, and Radical.—"Blackwood" and the "London Quarterly" are Tory; the "Edinburgh Review" Whig; and the "Westminster Review" Radical. The "North British Review" is more of a religious character, having been originally edited by Dr. Chalmers, and now, since his death, being conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary character is of the very highest order.

PRICES FOR 1848, (IF SUBSCRIBED FOR EARLY.)

For any one of the four Reviews,	$3.00	per annum,
For any two do	5.00	"
For any three do	7.00	"
For all four of the Reviews,	8.00	"
For Blackwood's Magazine,	3.00	"
For Blackwood and three Reviews,	9.00	"
For Blackwood & the four Reviews,	10.00	"

Payments to be made in all cases in advance.

CLUBBING.

Four copies of any or all of the above works will be sent to one address on payment of the regular subscription for three—the fourth copy being gratis.

EARLY COPIES.

A late arrangement with the British publishers of Blackwood's Magazine secures to us early sheets of that work, by which we shall be able to place the entire number in the hands of subscribers before any portion of it can be reprinted in any of the American Journals. For this and other advantages secured to our subscribers we pay so large a consideration, that we *may* be compelled to raise the price of the Magazine. Therefore we repeat "*subscribe early while the price is low.*"

Remittances and communications should be always addressed, post-paid or franked, to the publishers,

LEONARD SCOTT & CO.
79 Fulton street, New York.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at this office, "*The Legion of Liberty, and Force of Truth*," 10th edtion.—This work contains about 230 pages of close reading; 300 eminent authorities, and about 60 illustrative engravings. Price 37 1-2 cents, in muslin, and 25 cents, in paper covers. A very liberal discount to those who purchase a number of copies.

Also, the *Condition, Influence, Rights, and Appeal of Women*, from various authors, 12 1-2 cents.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**FLAX**	
Duty, 20 per ct ad val. per 100lbs		Duty: 15 per cent. ad val.	
Pots, 1st sort 1846	3 93 a —.6	Russia per lb.	a —
Pearl	5.37 a 5.50	American	8½ a 9
BEESWAX.		**FEATHERS**	
Duty: 20 per cent. ad val.		Duty: 25 per cent. ad val.	
Cuba, white per lb	—.— a —.—	Foreign per lb.	81 a 87
American, yellow,	—.23 a—.24	Foreign A. A.	92 a —
BRISTLES.		Live, American	33 a 35
Duty, 5 per cent ad val.		**HAY**—Per 100 lbs.	
St. Pet'sbg, 1st sort lb.	.90 a 1.13½	North River in bales	81 a 85
do. 2d sort	.35 a .42	**HOPS**	
Okatka, gray & white	1.90 a 1.95	Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Souchoy	60 a .65	First sort 1846, lb.	5½ a 7
American	55 a .60	**LEATHER. [Sole]**	
COAL.		Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.		Oak per lb.	20 a 23
Liverpool, Orrel chal	5.50 a 9.	Oak Ohio,	20 a 23
Newcastle, coarse	2?'8 a 7.50	Hemlock, light	14 a 15½
Scotch	2?'8 a 00'8	do. mid'l'g	14 a 15½
Sidney and Picton	6.00 a 6.25	do. heavy,	13 a 14½
Anthracite, 2,000lbs	5.50 a 6.00	do. damaged	14 a 16
DOMESTICS.		do. poor do.	7 a 10
Shirtings, brown 3-4 yd	5 a 5½	**LIME**	
do. do. 7-8	— a —	Thomaston per bbl	.75 a .80
do. bleached	5 a —	**LUMBER**	
do. S. I. do.	7 a 9	Duty: Timber and firewood, 20 boards, timber, &c. shaped for use, 30; do rough, 20 per ct ad val. Yard selling prices	
Sheetings, brown 4-4	6 a 8		
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12		
do. bleached 4-4	7½ 10		
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15	Timber w. pine pr. c. ft.	18 a 25
Calicoes, blue	8 a 10	do. east'n scant or beams pr M. ft.	16.25 a 16.50
do. fancy	9 a 11	do oak, cu. ft.	.35 a .3
Plaids	15 a 30	do. Gr. Isl. W. O.	—28 a
Kentucky jeans,	25 a 60	do. O. scant. pr. M. ft.	30.00 a
Satinetts	8 a 70	do. Ga. yel. pine (by cargo) per cub. ft.	—24 a
Checks 4-4	— a 9	Plank Ga. yel. pine pr M foot	27.50 a —
Cotton Osnaburgs. No. 1	— a 8	Boards N. R. M. ft. cl.	35.00 a 40.00
do. No. 2	— a 8	do. 2d ql.	25.00 a 27.50
Cotton yarn, 5 a 13	16 a 17	do. Box	14.00 a 14.50
do. 14 a 19	17 a 19	Albany, pluck	13 a .31
do. 20 a 23	19 a	Plank Alb. pine	12 a .21
FLOUR & MEAL.		Lathe E. by car.	2.50 a 3.00
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.		Shingles bh. 18 in.	1.75 a 2.25
Genesee per bbl.	6 37½ a 00'0	do. Ced. 3ft. 1st ql.	26.00 a —.—
Troy	6 12½ a 6.25	do. 2d ql.	24.— a 25.—
Michigan	6.12½ a —.—	do. 2ft. 1st ql.	18.— a 22.—
Ohio, new	6.12½ a 6.25	do. do. 2d ql.	16.— a 20.—
Ohio round hoop	—.— a —.—	do. Cyprus 2d ql.	18.— a 17.—
Ohio, via, Canal	—.— a —.—	Heading W. O. pr. M.	45.— a 50.—
Pennsylvania	6.00 a 6.12½	Staves W. O. pipe	50.— a —.—
Brandywine	2?'9 a 6.50	do. do. hhd.	40.— a —.—
Georgetown	6.— a 6.12½	do. do. bbl.	30.— a —.—
Baltimore c. mills	6.— a 6½	do. R. O. hhd.	30.— a 35.—
Richmond c. mills	—.— a —.—	**PROVISIONS.**	
do. country	6 37½ a 6.50	Duty: Cheese 30; all other 20 per cent. ad val.	
Alexandria	6.— a 6.—	Beef, mess per bbl.	8.25 a 8.75
Fredericksburg	6.— a 6.25	do. prime	6.25 a 6.00
Petersburg	6.— a 6.25	Pork, mess Ohio	9.— a 9.25
Rye flour	4.00 a 4.12	do. prime new	10. a 10.12
Cornmeal, Jersey	2.25 a 2.62	Lard	7½ a — 8
do. hhd.	14.50 a —.—	Hams, smoked	8½ a — 9½
FISH		Shoulders, smoked	9 a — 7½
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.		Beef do.	6 a —.—
Dry cod, cwt.	3.50 a 3.75	Butter, Orange co.	18½ a —.21
Dry scale	2.00 a 2.25	do. West'n dairy	14 a —.16
Pickled cod, bbl.	3.50 a 3.62	do. common	— a —.—
do. salmon, tce	20.00 a 21.00	Cheese	6 a —. 7
Smoked do. lb	— a —	**SEEDS.**	
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	8.00 a 8.12½	Duty: flaxseed, clover, and timothy, 20 per cent. ad val.	
do. No. 1 small	2?'0? a 18'1	Clover, per lb.	— 7 a —.7½
do. No. 2	6.81 a

Poetry.

From the New York Tribune.

TO MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

I sat beside a lady's hearth
And listened to the story,
Which throws around thy woman name
A never-dying glory.
A glory which through future years
Shall still go on increasing;
Looked up to by a thousand eyes
In thankfulness and blessing.

It was the old, old-fashioned tale,
They tell of Martyrs sainted,
Who bore for Truth the pain and loss,
Nor with the burden fainted;
Who, looking upward, through their tears,
Saw God's calm glory shining,
And trod the wine-press out alone
With patience, unrepining.

My blood ran faster as I heard
How, when by all forsaken,
On whom thy youthful arm had leaned
With all youth's trust unshaken;
Not all the rabble's ruffian shouts
Could drown the whispered pleading,
Of slaves, who under freemen's blows
Lay trampled, scorned, and bleeding.

A rock beneath the tempest crash
Of wild contending waters—
A hero cased in triple mail,
And smiling at the slaughters,
May shadow forth thy steadfast soul
Which, wrapt as in a vision,
Speaks boldly forth the words of truth,
And waiteth the fruition.

Oh, men! whose fathers through the floods
Came fleeing from Oppression
To build the temple to the Lord,
Defiled by your transgression;
This story, in the coming years,
Your sons shall read with shaming;
The justice of this woman's cause
With burning words proclaiming.

Yes! loosened by the hunter's shout,
The avalanche descendeth;
The sun that stood obscured behind
Again his glory lendeth.
So send thy voice of pleading forth—
Oh, woman! till its thunder
Shall strike the trembling mount of Sin
And rend its top asunder!

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. April 6th, 1848. C. C. C.

From Graham's Magazine for April.

THE FIRE OF DRIFT-WOOD.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

We sat within the farm-house old
Whose windows, looking o'er the bay,
Gave to the sea breeze, damp and cold,
An easy entrance, night and day.

Not far away, we saw the port—
The strange, old-fashioned, silent town—
The light house—the dismantled fort—
The wooden houses, quaint and brown.

We sat and talked until the night
Descending filled the little room;
Our faces faded from the sight,
Our voices only broke the gloom.

We spake of many a vanished scene,
Of what we once had thought and said,
Of what had been, and might have been,
And who was changed, and who was dead.

And all that fills the hearts of friends,
When first they feel, with secret pain,
Their lives thenceforth have separate ends,
And never can be one again.

The first slight swerving of the heart,
That words are powerless to express,
And leave it still unsaid in part,
Or say it in too great excess.

The very tones in which we spake
Had something strange, I could but mark;
The leaves of memory seemed to make
A mournful rustling in the dark.

Oft died the words upon our lips,
As suddenly, from out the fire
Built of the wreck of stranded ships,
The flames would leap, and then expire.

And as their splendour flashed and failed,
We thought of wrecks upon the main,—
Of ships dismasted, that were hailed,
And sent no answer back again.

The windows, rattling in their frames,
The ocean, roaring up the beach—
The gusty blast—the flickering flames—
All mingled vaguely in our speech,

Until they made themselves a part
Of fancies floating through the brain—
The long lost ventures of the heart,
That send no answers back again.

O flames that glowed! O hearts that yearned
They were indeed too much akin—
The drift-wood fire without that burned,
The thoughts that burned and glowed within.

Miscellany.

TAMANGO.

Translated for the Standard, from the French of Prosper Mérinée.

[CONCLUDED.]

After long expectation, the great day of vengeance and of liberty came. The conspirators, bound together by a solemn oath, had resolved upon their plan after mature deliberation. The most determined, having Tamango at their head, were to secure the arms of their guard, when they went on deck in their turn; others were to go to the Captain's cabin to take the muskets which were kept there. Those who should be able to file off their irons, were to commence the attack, but in spite of the obstinately-maintained labour of many nights, the greater part of the slaves were still incapable of taking an energetic part, in the action. Three stout blacks had the charge assigned them of killing the man who carried in his pocket the key of the fetters; and of immediately delivering their chained companions.

On that day Capt. Ledoux was in a fine humour; contrary to his custom, he pardoned a ship boy, who was to have been whipped. He complimented the officer of the watch upon a manœuvre, told the crew that he was perfectly contented with them, and announced to them, that at Martinique, where they would soon arrive, every man should receive a bounty. All the sailors, pleased with such agreeable news, had already decided in their own minds how to employ this bounty. They were still thinking of the brandy and the coloured women of Martinique, when Tamango and the other conspirators came on deck.

They had taken care to file their irons in such a manner that they did not appear to be cut, and yet a slight effort was sufficient to break them. After having breathed the air some time, they took hands and began to dance, while Tamango sang the war song of his family, which they always chanted before going into battle. When the dance had lasted long enough, Tamango, as if exhausted by fatigue, stretched himself at full length, at the feet of a sailor, who was leaning carelessly against the gunwale of the vessel; all the other conspirators did the same. In this way each sailor was surrounded by several blacks.

All at once Tamango, who had quietly broken his fetters, gave the loud shout which was to serve as the signal, seized by the legs the sailor who was next him, threw him down, and, putting his foot on his breast, wrested from him his musket, with which he killed the officer of the watch. At the same time every sailor of the guard was attacked, disarmed, and instantly killed.—On all sides the cry of war rose. The boatswain's mate, who had the key of the fetters, was one of the first who fell. Then a crowd of blacks covered the deck. Those who could not find arms, seized handspikes or the oars of the long boat. From this moment the European crew was lost. Nevertheless, some of the sailors drew to a head on the quarter deck, but they wanted arms and resolution. Ledoux was still living and had lost none of his courage. Perceiving that Tamango was the soul of the conspiracy, he hoped that if he could kill him, his accomplices would be easily conquered. He rushed forward to meet him, cutlass in hand, calling him with loud shouts. Tamango immediately threw himself upon him. He held a musket by the end of the barrel and used it as a club. The two chiefs met on the gangway, the narrow passage which leads from the forecastle to the quarter deck. Tamango struck first. By a slight movement of his body, the white shunned the blow. The butt-end fell heavily on the planks, and the rebound was so violent that the musket escaped from Tamango's hands. He was defenceless, and Ledoux, with a smile of diabolical joy, raised his arm to pierce him; but Tamango was as nimble as the panthers of his country. He threw himself into the arms of his adversary, and grasped the hand which held the cutlass. One strove to retain the weapon, the other to tear it from him. In this furious struggle both fell, but the African was underneath. Then without being discouraged, Tamango grasped his adversary with all his strength and bit him in the throat with such violence that the blood spouted as if under the teeth of a lion. The cutlass dropped from the relaxing hand of the Captain. Tamango seized it, then rising with bloody mouth and uttering a cry of triumph, he pierced with repeated blows, his already dying antagonist.

The victory was no longer doubtful. The few sailors who remained implored for mercy of the blacks, but all, even to the interpreter, were barbarously massacred. The Lieutenant died with glory. He had fallen back near one of those small cannons which turn on a pivot, and which are charged with cannister shot. With his left hand he managed the gun, and with his right, armed with a cutlass, he defended himself so well that he drew around him a crowd of blacks. Then pressing the trigger of the gun, he made through the midst of this dense crowd, a lane paved with the dead and dying. A moment after he was torn in pieces.

When the mangled corpse of the last white, had been thrown into the sea, the blacks, sated with vengeance, raised their eyes toward the sails of the ship, which, swelled by a fresh breeze, seemed still to obey their oppressors, and carry the conquerors, spite of their triumph, to the land of Slavery. "Nothing has been done then," said they sadly, "and this great Fétich of the whites, will it ever carry us back to our own country, we, who have shed the blood of its masters?" Some one said that Tamango knew how to make it obey him, and immediately Tamango was called for with loud cries.

He was not anxious to show himself. They found him standing in the cabin, one hand leaning on the bloody sabre of the Captain, the other extended with an abstracted air to his wife Aychè, who knelt before him. The joy of victory could not banish an expression of anxiety which betrayed itself in his countenance. Less ignorant than the others, he understood better the difficulties of his position.

He appeared at last on the deck, affecting a calm which he did not feel. Urged by a hundred confused voices, to direct the course of the vessel, he approached the rudder with slow steps, as if to delay a little the moment which was to decide for himself, and others, the extent of his power.

There was not a black in the vessel so stupid that he had not remarked the influence which a certain wheel, and a box placed opposite to it, exercised over the motions of the vessel; but this machinery had been a great mystery to them. Tamango examined the compass for a long time, moving his lips as if he read the characters which were traced there, then he carried his hand to his forehead, and put himself in the thoughtful attitude of a man who makes a calculation in his head. All the blacks gathered round him, with open mouths and staring eyes, anxiously watching his slightest gesture. At last, with that mixture of fear and of confidence which ignorance gives, he gave a violent turn to the wheel of the rudder.

Like a generous courser, which feels the spur of an imprudent rider, the good brig Hope bounded upon the waves at this unheard-of manœuvre. The necessary relation between the direction of the sails and that of the rudder being suddenly broken, the vessel careened so violently that she seemed in danger of being engulphed. Her long yards ploughed the water. Several men were thrown down, some fell overboard. She rose again proudly against the wave, as if to make one more struggle with destruction. A blast of wind came at that moment, and the two masts fell with a horrible noise, broken off a few feet from the deck, covering it with rubbish and heavy spars and cables.

The terrified negroes fled under the hatches uttering shrieks of terror, but as the wind found nothing more to take, the ship rose and floated, gently rocked by the waves. Then the boldest of the blacks came on deck and cleared it of the pieces of wreck which covered it. Tamango remained motionless, his elbow leaning on the binnacle, his face hidden by his arm. Aychè was with him, but dared not speak to him. The blacks gradually surrounded him, a murmur rose, which soon changed to a storm of reproaches and abuse. "Traitor! impostor!" cried they, "it is you who have caused all our misfortunes, it is you who sold us to the whites, it is you who forced us to rise against them. You boasted of your knowledge, you promised to carry us back to our own country. We believed you, fools that we were! and now we must perish because you have offended the Fetich of the whites."

Tamango raised his head proudly, and the blacks who surrounded him, recoiled intimidated. He selected two muskets, made a sign to his wife to follow him, traversed the crowd, which fell back before him, and stationed himself in the bows of the vessel. Here he made a sort of rampart with empty casks and planks, and seated himself in the midst of this intrenchment. No one disturbed him. Among the blacks, some wept, others raised their hands to Heaven, invoking their own fetichs or those of the whites; some knelt before the compass, whose motions filled them with admiration, supplicating it to carry them to their own country; others lay on the deck in stupid despair. To complete this scene of horror, the women and children were screaming with fright, and about twenty of the wounded, implored help, which no one thought of giving them.

All at once a negro appeared on the deck, his face radiant with joy. He announced that he had discovered the place where the whites kept their brandy, and his appearance sufficiently proved that he had tried it. This news suspended in an instant the cries of these wretches. They rushed to the caboose and gorged themselves with liquor. An hour after they were dancing and shouting on the deck, and giving themselves up to all the extravagances of the most brutal drunkenness. Their dances and songs were accompanied by the complaints and the groans of the wounded. Thus passed the remainder of the day and all the night.

In the morning they awoke to new despair. During the night a great number of the wounded had died. The vessel floated, surrounded by dead bodies. The sea was high and the heavens cloudy. They called a council. Some of them, dabblers in the art of magic, who had not dared to speak of their learning before Tamango, offered their services.—They tried several powerful charms, but every attempt was useless; the discouragement increased. At last they spoke of Tamango, who had not yet come out of his intrenchment. After all he was the wisest among them; he alone was able to rescue them from the horrible situation in which they were placed. An old man approached him bringing propositions of peace. He besought him to give his advice; but Tamango, inflexible as Coriolanus, was deaf to his prayers. That night, in the midst of the disorder, he had provided himself with biscuit and salt meat. He seemed determined to live alone in his retreat.

The brandy remained, at least they could forget the sea, and slavery, and their approaching death.—They slept, and dreamed of Africa, they saw the forests of gum trees, the huts thatched with straw, the *baobabs*, whose shade covers a whole village.—The orgies of the preceding evening commenced again. Thus several days passed. To shout, to weep, to tear their hair, then to drink and sleep; such was their life. Several died from hard drinking, some were thrown into the sea, and others poignarded.

One morning Tamango left his fort and advanced as far as the stump of the mainmast. "Slaves," said he, "the Spirit has appeared to me in a dream, and has revealed to me the means to rescue you, and carry you back to your country. Your ingratitude deserves that I should abandon you, but I will have pity on the women and children. I pardon you: listen to me." The blacks bowed their heads with respect, and pressed around him.

"The whites alone," pursued Tamango, "know the powerful words that can move the great houses of wood, but we can manage at our will these light barques which resemble those of our own country." He pointed to the long boat, and the other boats of the brig. "Let us fill them with provisions, embark, and row in the direction of the wind; my master and yours, will make it blow towards our country." They believed him. Never was project more absurd, for ignorant of the use of the compass, and under an unknown sky, they could only wander at random. He supposed that if they rowed directly forward, they would come at last to some country inhabited by blacks, for the blacks owned all the land, and the whites lived in their vessels. He had heard his mother say so.

All was soon ready for embarkation, but the long boat and the jolly boat were found to be the only seaworthy ones. These were too small to contain more than eighty stout negroes. It was necessary to abandon the sick and wounded. Most of them asked only to be killed before they were deserted.

The two boats, set afloat with infinite trouble and frightfully overloaded, quitted the vessel in a heavy sea, which threatened every moment to engulph them. The jolly boat went first. Tamango and Aychè had taken their places in the long boat, which heavier and more deeply loaded, remained far behind. They heard still the plaintive cries of the deserted wretches on board the brig, when a tremendous wave broke upon the boat and filled it with water. In less than a moment she sunk.

The jolly boat saw this disaster, and the rowers redoubled their efforts, less they should be called upon to pick up some of their drowning comrades. Almost all who embarked in the long boat were drowned. Only a dozen were able to regain the vessel. Of this number were Tamango and Aychè. When the sun set they saw the jolly boat disappear beyond the horizon; what became of it I know not.

Why should I fatigue the reader with a disgusting description of the tortures of famine. Twenty persons in a narrow space, sometimes rocked by a raging sea, sometimes scorched by a burning sun, disputed day by day the scanty remains of their provisions. Every morsel of biscuit cost a battle, and the feeble died, not because the strong killed them, but because they let them die. In a few days the only living beings on board the brig Hope were Tamango and Aychè.

* * * * * *

One night the sea was agitated, the wind blew violently, and the darkness was so great that the poop could not be seen from the prow of the ship. Aychè was lying on a mattress in the Captain's cabin, and Tamango was seated at her feet. Both had been silent for a long time. "Tamango," at last cried Aychè, "all that thou sufferest is for me." "I do not suffer," replied, he hastily, and he threw on the mattress, beside his wife, the last half biscuit that remained. "Keep it for thyself," said she, pushing it away gently, "I am not hungry. Besides, why should I eat. My hour has come." Tamango rose without replying, and mounted with staggering steps to the deck and seated himself at the foot of a broken mast. With his head leaning on his breast, he whistled his family tune. All at once a great shout was heard above the noise of the wind and the sea; a light appeared. He heard other cries, and a large black vessel glided near his own, so near that the yards passed above his head. He saw only two figures, lighted by a lantern suspended from a mast. These men uttered another shout, and immediately their vessel, driven by the wind, disappeared in the darkness. Without doubt the watch had perceived the shipwrecked vessel, but the storm prevented them from putting about. A moment after, Tamango saw the flash of a gun and heard the noise of the explosion, then he saw the flash of another gun, but he heard no noise, and he saw nothing more. The next day not a sail appeared on the horizon. Tamango lay down again on the mattress and shut his eyes. His wife Aychè died that night.

* * * * * *

Some time after, an English frigate, the Bellona, perceived a vessel dismasted, and to all appearance, abandoned by her crew. A boat having boarded her they found a dead negress, and a negro so exhausted and so wasted that he resembled a mummy. He was insensible, but had still a spark of life. The Surgeon took charge of him, and when the Bellona arrived at Kingston, Tamango was in perfect health. They asked for his story, and he told all that he knew. The planters of the Island wished to hang him as a rebellious negro; but the Governor, who was a humane man, interested himself in him and found his case justifiable, since, after all, he had only used his legitimate right of defence, and since those whom he had killed were only Frenchmen. They treated him as they treat the negroes taken from a negro vessel which has been confiscated. They gave him his liberty; that is to say, they made him work for Government, but he had six sous a day and his food. He was a very handsome man. The Colonel of the Seventy-fifth saw him and took him for a cymbalier in the band of his regiment. He learned a little English, but he could hardly speak it at all. To console himself, he drank rum and brandy to excess. He died at the hospital of an inflammation of the lungs.

LADY HESTER STANHOPE'S PREDICTION.—The following is taken from Lamartine's "Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," in 1832-3:

After Lady Hester's reception of Lamartine, she said, not knowing even his name, "Sit down, and let us talk. We are already friends." "How, my lady!" said Lamartine, "can you honour so soon with the appellation of friend, a man whose name and whose life are entirely unknown to you? You know not who I am."

"It is true," she replied, "I know not what you are, according to the world, nor what you have done, whilst you lived amongst mankind; but I already know what you are before God. Do not take me for a madwoman, as the world often calls me; but I cannot resist the wish to open my heart to you. There is a science, at present lost in your Europe,—a science, which, cradled in the East, has never perished here, but still exists unextinguished. I possess it—I read in the stars—******—I have only seen you for a few minutes, yet you are known to me as well as if I lived an age with you. Shall I reveal you to yourself? Shall I predict your destiny?" * * * * * *

"Believe as you think proper, you are not the less one of those men whom I expected, whom Providence sends to me, and who have a great part to play in the drama which is preparing. You will soon return to Europe; but it is all over with Europe. France alone has a great mission to accomplish, in which you will participate. I do not know how, but I can tell you to-night, if you wish it, when I have consulted your stars. I do not know the names of all; I at present see more than three; I perceive four, perhaps five, and who knows perhaps still more. One of them is certainly Mercury, which gives clearness and colour to intelligence and speech. You must be a poet. I read it in your eyes and in the upper part of your countenance.—Lower down, you are under the empire of wholly different and almost opposite stars. There is the power apparent of energy and action." * * * * "Return thanks to God! There are few men born under more than one star; few, of whom that one is fortune; fewer still, whose star, even when favourable, is not counterbalanced by the malignant influence of an opposite planet. You, however, have several; they all combine to serve you, and all aid each other in your favour. What is your name?" I told her. "I never heard it before," said she, with the accent of truth.

All this, be it remembered, took place in September, 1832, nearly sixteen years ago! The prediction was certainly remarkable. In the course of this conversation, Lamartine makes the following remarks to Lady Stanhope, in replying to her expressing the hope that he was an aristocrat like herself: "I am neither an aristocrat nor a democrat; I have lived long enough to have found, on examining both sides of the medal of human nature, that they are equally hollow; my principles are as little aristocratic as the reverse. I am a man, and an extensive advocate of any system that may tend to improve and perfect the whole man, whether he be born at the top or the foot of the social scale. I neither espouse the cause of the people, nor of the great; but that of mankind in general! I do not believe that aristocratic or democratic institutions possess the exclusive virtue of rendering human nature perfect; this virtue is only to be found in a divine code of morals, the fruit of a perfect religion; faith is the key to the civilization of nations." * * * * "I belong * * * * * to the party who do not despise their inferiors in the social scale, whilst they respect those above them; whose wish, be it a dream or not, is to raise all men, without regard to the place they hold in the arbitrary hierarchies of politics, to the same degree of knowledge, of liberty, and of moral perfection."

From the London Examiner.

ALCOHOL A PRISONER AT THE BAR.

On Friday evening, Mr. Jabez Inwards, agent of the National Temperance Society, delivered the first part of his celebrated lecture, entitled, "Alcohol a Prisoner at the Bar," at the Southampton Polytechnic Institution, which was crowded on the occasion by a highly respectable audience, who paid the most marked attention to the evidence adduced against the prisoner. The indictment preferred against him contained the following charges, viz: that he was a thief, a deceiver, a traitor, and a murderer. It was proved, that as a thief, he has robbed England of its moral glory, inasmuch as at the present time we are considered to be the most drunken country in the world. He has stolen, and is stealing, money from the pocket, health from the body, and peace from the mind. In many instances he has stolen hope from the soul, and hastened it down to eternal woe. As a deceiver, he is mighty in his influence; in all ages he has led the people astray; he has deceived kings, warriors, bishops, and clergymen of all denominations; he has deceived merchants and tradesmen; he deceives, also, the moderate drinkers, who foolishly believe that Alcohol imparts strength. As a traitor, he marches through this country with six hundred thousand drunkard at his heels, and is continually carrying on a warfare against the good order and peace of society. He arms his victims with the implements of rebellion; they fill the air with vile imprecations, and impart an influence which is destructive to thousands. As a murderer, the evidence was very clear. A great many of the murders committed in this country, are committed under his influence. He fills the soul with desperate designs, and madly leads his victims on, until they are guilty of the foul deed of murdering their fellow-men. He was also proved to be a murderer, inasmuch as many are slain by his own direct fiery influence upon the physical system. This is but a brief outline of the indictment, after which the following witnesses were called to speak against the prisoner at the bar:—1st. *The Bible*, the evidence of which went to prove that Alcohol was an enemy to man. Noah's intemperance was cited against him, and the influence he possessed in causing the prophets and the priests to err. The names by which he is known in the Bible are, "a mocker, a serpent, an adder," &c. and the command of the Bible is, "Look not upon the wine when it is red." *Ministers* were then called upon to give evidence. Their declarations against the prisoner were of an appalling nature. They spoke of his mighty doings at home and abroad—how he curses the people by land and by sea—how he retards the progress of the Gospel, and even how many ministers have fallen by his power. *The Christian professor* was then called upon, who stated that Alcohol caused thirty thousand Christian professors to backslide from the Church every year—that some of those who were once his Christian friends were now the inmates of the public-house, and were singing the songs of Bacchus. *History* was then called upon, and gave evidence to the following effect:—That Alcohol, in all countries and all climes, had been an enemy to man. He told us of Alexander the Great, who killed Clitus, his best friend, under its influence, and how that great man died at the age of 33, in consequence of Alcohol. It told us of the intemperance in ancient Greece and Rome, and came down to a later period, faithfully assuring the jury that the prisoner is a continual foe to man. History told of Shakspeare's being injured by it; of Byron's intemperance; of poor Burns, who was reduced to poverty; and of Sheridan, whose once glorious sun shone brightly, but who fell a victim to the prisoner, Alcohol. The *Physician* then proved that Alcohol was a poison which sprang out of vegetable death; that it was an enemy to the physical system. And at last the *Poor Drunkard* gave evidence against his destroyer; this was a very solemn part of the meeting, and the attention was profound. He spoke of his father's embrace, and his mother's care, and referred to the time when his character was unsullied, and his hopes bright; but Alcohol met him in the days of his youth, and for a time he was strictly moderate, but at length he fell, and in that fall he separated himself from all that remained, he had ruined his children, and broken the heart of his wife. He stood before them as a representative of 60,000 of his miserable fellow-sufferers; and he solemnly charged all his disease and wretchedness to Alcohol—the prisoner at the bar.—This closed the evidence for the prosecution, with which the first lecture terminated.

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—It is not very surprising that in the time of the Revolutionary war, when so much was said of freedom, equality, and the rights of man, that the poor African should think that he had some rights, and should seek that freedom which others valued so highly. There were slaves then even in New Hampshire, and their owners, like the Egyptians of old, and the Carolinians now, were unwilling to "let them go." We subjoin an extract from the Journal of New Hampshire, touching this matter, showing how justice and humanity were postponed, as repentance often is, to a more convenient opportunity:

June 9, 1780.—Agreeable to order of the day, the petition of Negro Brewster and others, negro slaves, praying to be set free from slavery, being read, considered, and argued by counsel for the petitioners before this House; it appears that at this time this House is not ripe for a determination in this matter. Therefore ordered, that the further consideration of the matter be postponed *till a more convenient opportunity*.—[Exeter News Letter.

From the London Examiner.

THE YOUNG IDOLATER.

Rousseau wished Emile not to hear of God, until his education was completed, and therefore it was necessary to seclude him from the world, lest even the name of God should reach his ear. All the while Rousseau counted for nothing the language of the heavens and of the earth, and the tendencies and wants of the human heart, which go forth to meet the God whom the universe proclaims. System-mongers enamoured of their own devices, forget that nature within us and without will not shape herself to their ideas, but laughs them to scorn whilst she defies their prohibitions and frustrates their plans. Rousseau only wrote a romance, and did not try the experiment; but a German philosopher has done so. M. Sintenis reduced to practice the fiction of the author of *Emile*. He had lived in a town and he retired to a small property in the country. He was in affliction at the death of a young wife whom he had tenderly loved, and who had left him but one only child—a boy, in early infancy. He educated this child himself, in complete seclusion, and contrived that he should never either hear or read the name of the Deity. His motive in this was twofold: he dreaded, like Rousseau, that his pupil should conceive a false idea of the Almighty, if it was conveyed to him before the development of his mind; and on the other hand, he wished to try an experiment which he had much at heart. The philosophers and theologians of his country were discussing a subject which is not unimportant in the knowledge of human nature; the question, viz: whether man is born with an innate idea of God, or not. In this, as too often happens in all such discussions, they had neglected to define with precision what was to be understood by an *innate idea* of the Deity. Did it mean a complete knowledge to which nothing need be added? If so, experience was at hand to prove that this idea, the most sublime as well as the most important that man can conceive, never can precede in our minds the elements of which it is composed. But if this innate idea was nothing more than a natural disposition to rise towards the author of the universe in order to account for its origin, to intrust its government to Him, and to commit our destinies into His hands, together with the tribute of our gratitude, there was experience again at hand to attest that such is the truth; and this is the answer which M. Sintenis obtained in educating his son according to Rousseau's plan. The boy, as he himself tells us, had no intercourse whatever with any person but his father. The lessons were generally given out of doors, amidst all the beautiful phenomena of nature, which were the main subject of them. Lessons in Latin were added to those in the mother-tongue, and for a long time they were entirely oral, as the pupil did not learn to read till late. At ten years of age he had never heard or read the name of God. In the absence of the name, however, the reality had been keenly felt by the child. He thought he had found it in the sun. As this splendid orb appears daily to run its glorious race in order to impart light and heat and benefits innumerable, the child did not hesitate to consider it as a living being, as had all heathen antiquity before him. He kept silence on this point, for it was his secret, and daily, in fine weather, he used to repair mysteriously to the garden in order to watch for the rising of the orb of day, and pay to it the homage of his praise. Never did Vestal as he has since said, offer up to it worship more sincere, more cordial, or more pure.

His father suspected him, and broke in upon the young idolater, when on his knees, with arms uplifted, he was pouring forth his prayers and thanksgivings to the God of his imagination. The father then saw that the time was come, to raise the thoughts of his son from the creature towards the Creator; so he gave him lessons in astronomy, and taught him that all the fixed stars shining in their own lustre are so many suns scattered over the immense expanse of the heavens. This discovery carried consternation into the heart of the child, for he knew not where now to deposit his thoughts, his gratitude, and his desires. To comfort him, his mentor at last spoke to him of the Great Spirit, the ruler and master of the universe.

By this systematic education, the father had solved the great problem of the philosophers of his country—he had also ascertained that human nature, while untainted by the world, seeks after God, after one God alone, and that when without a guide, it searches for Him among the objects which excite the most lively admiration; and that it therefore turns to the orb of day, before whose brightness the stars cease from shining; to that orb which is pre-eminently the benefactor of all the inhabitants of the earth. Thence arose the worship of the sun in ancient times; that worship which we have found again more recently in the most favoured parts of America, in the peaceful and prosperous States of the Incas. The experiment which the father tried upon his son is deserving of attention in the world of science; but it cost dear to the poor child, who had rejoiced in his God, and who endured the agony of being bereft of Him. Had his fond mother lived, she would never have ventured on so cruel an experiment.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

HANDBILL BY THE HANGMAN.

BY PERMISSION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Mr. John Ketch has the honour to announce that, in consequence of the gross attempt of Mr. Ewart, in the House of Commons, to ruin his profession having failed, his

SCIENTIFIC AND MORAL EXHIBITIONS

will continue, for a limited period, to take place occasionally on the old-established boards in front of Newgate. Reserved seats may be had on application at the neighbouring ginshops. Yelling, howling, screeching, picking pockets, quarrelling, fighting, oaths, and blasphemy, as usual.

Due Notice will be given of all Entertainments.

N. B. The patrons and admirers of Mr. Ketch are respectfully solicited to avail themselves of every remaining opportunity of witnessing his *Performances*, as, in consequence of what is called *Popular Opinion*, J. K. seriously apprehends that they must *shortly terminate*.

⁂ To commence at 8, A. M. precisely.

Vivat Sir R. H. INGLIS.] [No money returned.

Punch.

On a recent visit with other Englishmen to Versailles, we were informed that only a part of the palace was open to the public. The Governor was appealed to, when he immediately granted free entry to every part. He could not refuse such hospitality to Englishmen; though, in his own words, he was "*impitoyable à ses compatriots*."—Here we found the statue of the Duke of Orleans removed to a place of safety, and the statue of Joan of Arc—the beautiful work of a good and gifted women—walled up and protected against the wild outburst of republican rage. Pictures, illustrative of Louis Philippe's lying royalty were in the course of removal. (Is there room for them in Claremont?) That painted perjury, the swearing to the Charter, was—like the perjurer—laid flat upon the floor. What tedious, teazing magnificence is in this palace of Versailles? Gold, gold, everywhere gold, that the sense is jaded with it. After it a plain wainscot room, with the decencies of furniture, comes quite refreshing to the spirit, parched as it is with such a heat of glory. After all, royalty must have its sufferings and splendor. For my plebeian part, I could as soon find repose in the furnace of Abednego, as comfort in the blazing rooms of Louis the Fourteenth, who crushed whole generations to [illegible] their happiness in a garish palace.—*Douglas Jerrold's Letters.*

THE EMPEROR AND THE FRENCH NEWS.—A Königsberg paper, (the *Baltischen Blätter*,) gives the following account of the manner in which the Emperor of all the Russias received the news of the fall of Louis Philippe: On the last night of carnival there was a grand ball in the Winter palace. They were just dancing a mazurka, when an officer entered abruptly and handed the Emperor a paper. It contained the news of the French Revolution, which at that moment had arrived by telegraph from Paris. The Emperor read the paper; he turned pale, and his features displayed that savage violence which in that mighty Tartar breaks but too frequently through the gloss of his Parisian manners. At length, checking his emotion by a sudden effort, he walked to the centre of room and waved his hands. The music stopped. Everybody assembled around him. "The Republic," said the Emperor, "has been proclaimed in France. The royal family have fled from Paris. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal were burnt. Gentlemen," continued the Emperor, addressing the officers of his guard, "gentlemen, you will prepare to mount on horseback. We shall have a rough campaign!"

BATHS AND WASH-HOUSES FOR THE LABOURING CLASSES.—On March 22d, a meeting of the committee and supporters of the above undertaking for the benefit of the labouring classes in the Northwest district of the metropolis, was held at the institution, in George street, Euston Square, for general business. Rev. W. Dodsworth, M. A. in the chair. The general report stated that the institution was opened in August, 1846, and that its statistical and financial progress up to the present period was highly satisfactory. The number of persons who have availed themselves of its benefits are upward of 170,000 male and female bathers, and 56,287 poor women have washed, dried, ironed, and mangled the linen of themselves and families, to the average of nearly two millions of articles. The society is indebted for a loan and liabilities on account of the building fund, to the amount of £815; when this is liquidated, the establishment will be self-supporting. The receipts for the past five weeks, ending the 12th instant, amounted to £154 14s 4d; the expenditure to £119 5s 7d, leaving a profit on the working of £35 8s 9d. The donations during the same period were upwards of £60. The increase of bathers during the same period (five weeks) corresponding with the same month last year, was 1,253, and that of washers, &c. 3,356. The building still requires additional accommodation to provide for the increased demands made by both bathers and washers, for which the New River Company have most liberally granted an extension of ground, as soon as the necessary funds for that purpose are raised. The usual routine of business being transacted, thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.—*Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper.*

THE INEFFICIENCY OF PARLIAMENT.—Great were the hopes of the people when the Reform Bill was passed, and sadly have they been disappointed. High were the expectations when the Corn Laws were repealed, and cruelly have they been deceived. Doubtless both measures were wise and politic in themselves, but they did not reach the deep-seated evils of the country.—*Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper.*

A great number of distressed operatives, who were engaged in the French factories, and were obliged to return to England, appeared before the Lord Mayor, and represented that they were in a state of destitution.—They had certificates from the consuls. His Lordship directed that the men and their families should be sent, under the superintendence of Mr. Thwaites, the relieving officer of the City of London Union, to their several places of settlement in various parts of the country.—Mr. Goodman, the chief clerk, was engaged during a great part of Thursday and Friday in making arrangements for sending off the operatives by the different railroads. Upwards of 200 arrived in the course of Thursday.—*London paper.*

A COMPREHENSIVE DENUNCIATION.—The late Daniel O'Connell, in a speech at Liverpool, described the Tory papers as "the hideous villains who conduct the *Times*; the miscreants who manage the *Standard*; the drivelling old women who write in the *Herald*; and the ladies' lap-dogs, who scribble in the *Post*!"

A MEDICAL MAIDEN.—An American contemporary states that a young lady—a Miss Blackwell—is now attending as a student at one of the medical lecture-rooms at Boston. Her age is 26—for she has the sense to tell it, as well as to study medicine. She sits down at the class, takes off her bonnet, thereby displaying several personal attractions; and her presence has the remarkable effect of producing decorum in the assembly of medical students. We admire Miss Blackwell, though we have never seen her. She is qualifying herself for that very important duty of a good wife—tending a husband in sickness. She is acquiring what to ladies would be very useful information—a knowledge of the distinction between real and fanciful ailments; also, of the consequences of want of exercise, damp feet, and tight lacing. As a mother, she will have learned better than to dose her children with DAFFY and DALBY, or to take her monthly nurse's advice instead of the doctor's. America is certainly going ahead of us in respect to the medical profession, for in that country it contains at least one young lady; which is better than, as in England, many old women.—*Punch.*

The Liverpool Albion remarks that, in 1830, no sooner had the Dey of Algiers arrived in France, as a prisoner of Charles the Tenth, than the King was dethroned and exiled; and, in 1848 no sooner had Abd-el Kader reached France as a prisoner of Louis Philippe, than the King of the Barricades was dethroned and exiled.

Since 1845 the quantity of beet-root annually made available in all sugar manufactories of Germany has been increased by nearly 2,000 000 cwt. viz: from 3,889,860 cwt. in the autumn of 1845, to 5,633,848 cwt. in the corresponding season of 1845; Prussia taking about four-fifths for its 86 sugar factories.

ROBBERY OF DR. BOWRING.—At the Glamorganshire Assizes, John Lloyd, aged 25, and Richard Mahony, 27, labourers, were convicted of the highway robbery of Dr. Bowring, M. P. and his brother, Mr. Charles Bowring, on the 4th of November last, and sentenced to transportation for life; and Evan Evans, aged 38, weaver, and Richard Thomas, 26, spinner, for feloniously receiving a portion of the £1,000 stolen, were convicted and sentenced, the one to eighteen, and the other to six months' imprisonment.

It has been determined to erect a public monument to Harvey, (the discoverer of the circulation of the blood,) in Folkestone, his native town.

The Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*, [March 8] says: The Prince of Canino, Buonaparte, stood his trial two months ago at our assizes, for his riotous conduct some months back, and was acquitted, owing to the general good humour of the tribunal.

PAPER FROM STRAW.—We are persuaded that if a comparison were carefully made between our free and enslaved manufactures, it would be found that the deterring nature of the Excise grasp—like that of Bruin, the bear in the show—tends wonderfully to keep all inquirers and experimenters at a safe distance from the possibility of an embrace. One of these imported inventions—destined to exercise a great revolution, if we mistake not, upon the manufacture of paper in Europe, and which already excites much interest among the trade in Great Britain—is that of the use of straw as a material. Mr. Lemuel W. Wright, a native of the United States, obtained a patent in this country for this process in 1843, and we believe has disposed of a patent he acquired at the same time in France, for a great sum, to a large company in Normandy, who are now fitting up very extensive works for the manufacture of straw paper or boards.—*Edinburgh Chronicle.*

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD.

DR. DAVID M. DAVIS, Woodstown, N J
CHARLES ATKINSON, Marion, Grant co. Ia
J. MILLER M'KIM, Philadelphia, Pa
AMARANCY PAINE, Providence, R I
PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, "
J. C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Ontario co. N Y
THOMAS MCCLINTOCK, Waterloo,
SLOCOMB HOWLAND, Sherwood's Corners, Cayuga co N Y
S. STAMFORD ASHLEY, Oberlin, Ohio.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston, Mass
JESSE HOLMES, New Lisbon, Columbiana co. Ohio
K. G. THOMAS, Marlborough, Stark co. Ohio
ISAAC LEWIS, Short Creek, Harrison co. Ohio
E. D. HUDSON, Springfield, Mass
JAMES A. BURR, Ludlowville, N. Y.
ROBERT C. MARSHALL, Hiram, Portage county,
WILLIAM CRONK, Buffalo, N Y
GEORGE W. EASTON, Bridgewater, Mass,
DAVID K. COOK, Johnson's Creek, Niagara county N.Y
A. H. BIGELOW, Concord, Mass,
L. G. THOMAS, West Winfield, N. Y.
JOHN W. LYON, Hastings, Oswego county, N Y
MORRIS KINGSBURY, Fulton, "
CHARLES DOUGLASS, Caughenwa, "
ALEX. FOREMAN, Pulaski, "
JOHN P. DICKINSON, Cleveland,
SOLOMON PECK, Mexicoville
JOHN WILBUR, 2d, North Easton, Washington county
JONATHAN WILDE, Quaker Springs, Saratoga county